Washington Neighborhood House

H. W. Lindsey

St. Stud. Secy

Y. M. C. A

9th St & La Salle

Minneapolis

Minn.

Until Sept. 1st

Rochelle, Ill.

Dr. G. W. Peters

INDIAN PROBLEMS

BOOKS OF INDIAN INTEREST

INDIA: A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW
By the Earl of Ronaldshay

LANDS OF THE THUNDERBOLT:
SIKHIM, CHUMBI AND BHUTAN
By the Earl of Ronaldshay

INDIA: 1600–1826
By A. Wyatt Tilby

INDIA AND ITS FAITHS
By J. B. Pratt

SIRI RAM: REVOLUTIONIST
By Edmund Candler

ABDICATION
By Edmund Candler

CONSTABLE & CO., LTD.
LONDON : BOMBAY : SYDNEY

DS
448
.W5
1924

INDIAN PROBLEMS
in Religion Education Politics

BY

THE RIGHT REVEREND

HENRY WHITEHEAD D.D.

Honorary Fellow of Trinity College Oxford

Formerly Bishop of Madras

"Asia"

CONSTABLE & CO. LTD.

LONDON · BOMBAY · SYDNEY

1924

33373

WITHDRAWN

HIEBERT LIBRARY

Fresno Pacific College - M. B. Seminary

Made and Printed in Great Britain by Butler & Tanner Ltd., *Frome and London*

PREFACE

THE object of this book is to give to English readers, who know comparatively little about Indian affairs, some insight into the main problems which have to be solved in India at the present day, and the forces which have created them.

I have begun with the ancient religions of India because religion has been the chief preoccupation of India from the earliest ages of its history and has had a dominant influence in determining the special character of Indian civilisation. The political situation in India is constantly discussed in England as though it had no connection with religion ; but in India you may expel religion with a pitchfork, but it will always recur. Religion enters into everything and it is not possible to understand the political situation or to form a true estimate of what is practicable in the sphere of politics without some knowledge of the religious ideas of the mass of the people and of the possibility of a great religious reformation in the future. I have, therefore, attempted the difficult task of describing in a brief space the great religious movements that have moulded Indian civilisation for the last three thousand years. I am fully conscious of the inadequacy of my treatment of this great subject and of my temerity in attempting to deal with it in a few chapters. But I am not writing for students of Indian religions but for people who want to know

what are the leading ideas on which the civilisation of India is founded.

An account of the educational policy of the British Government and the results of English education is also a necessary prelude to an account of the political questions on which the British public will have to form an opinion within the next few years, as the rise of an educated class, steeped in English literature, has been the chief factor in the creation of the existing situation.

In the chapters on politics I have written not as a politician, but as a sincere well-wisher of the country in which my life's work has been done. And I am moved to deal with this thorny subject because I feel convinced that the problem of Indian politics is mainly psychological and moral. "The one thing in governing an Asiatic country," said Lord Curzon in one of his speeches, "is to break down the barriers between the hearts and consciences of men." This is profoundly true of India and it applies to every Government alike, whether British or Indian. It is by this test that the success of the British Government must be judged; and the same test will be applied to any Government that may be set up in the future. The one great need of India from the political point of view is unity. Till that is achieved the progress of India towards the appointed goal of self-government must be slow and beset with grave difficulties.

The growth and work of the Christian Church stands by itself as a new element in the life and thought of India and a new factor in the problems that await solution. It has already made an important contribution to the progress of education generally, and

has challenged two characteristic vices of Indian civilisation by its splendid work for the education of women and the emancipation of the depressed classes. The advance that has been made during the last fifty years towards the establishment of an independent Indian Church is almost as significant and important to the politician as it is to the Churchman. At the same time the Christian Church is steadily laying the foundation for a higher and better Indian civilisation by proclaiming the fundamental truths of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, by the emphasis which it lays in its moral teaching upon the permanence and value of personality and by providing a religious basis for social and national unity.

My own work in India during a period of nearly forty years has kept this problem of unity both in Church and State perpetually before my mind. To try and solve it has been the one great purpose of my whole Indian career. The first sixteen years of my service in India, from January 1884 till I went to Madras in October 1899, were spent in Calcutta, where my work lay mainly among university students, both as Principal of Bishop's College and Superior of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta. It was a time of acute political agitation, and Bengal was the storm centre. The educated class was fast growing in numbers and influence, and the feeling between them and the Europeans, especially in Bengal, was growing more and more unsatisfactory. No dispassionate observer could fail to see that the main problem of the British government in India was rapidly becoming that of its relation to educated Indians.

When I went to Madras I found there a calmer atmosphere politically; but the same problem presented itself in every department of my work, the relation between the British and educated Indians, between Hindus and Muhammadans, between Brahmans and non-Brahmans, between the caste people and the outcastes, and between the many sections of the Christian Church. In the South, as in the North, the one thing needed was a ministry of reconciliation.

I mention these facts simply to show that this problem has not been to me a matter of academic interest. My views are at any rate the fruit of forty years' experience and have been gradually formed under the stress and strain of my life's work.

It is, I know, difficult to write about Indian politics without giving offence. I have to write about personal matters, and unless I write with perfect frankness and sincerity it is useless to write at all. But at any rate I write without any personal bias. During my service in India I have received the greatest possible kindness and hospitality from all classes, from my own countrymen, both officials and non-officials, from Hindus and Muhammadans, and from my many Indian Christian friends.

India has been called a land of regrets. To me it has been a land of friendship. And my own experience has served to convince me that, however strong and high the barriers between Europeans and Indians may be, still it is possible to break them down. Hundreds and thousands of British men and women who have lived and worked in India would say the same. The task is undoubtedly a difficult but not an impossible one. And I am led to write the following pages in the hope that they may contribute something

to the understanding of a problem on the solution of which depends the welfare and happiness of three hundred million people.

At the present moment, in view of the unreasonable and irreconcilable attitude of a large section of the Indian politicians, which threatens for a time to wreck the recent reforms and delay indefinitely the progress towards constitutional government, the future of India seems gloomy and uncertain ; but one thing gives me hope, in spite of all the difficulties of the present time, and that is the memory of the many Indians I have known whose abilities, uprightness, devotion to duty and earnest desire to promote the welfare of their country have been abundantly proved by years of strenuous labour in the public service.

HENRY WHITEHEAD.

MUCH MARCLE,
March, 1924.

CONTENTS

		PAGE
PREFACE		v

PART I

THE CONFLICT OF RELIGIONS

CHAP.		
1	ANIMIST AND ARYAN	3
2	BRAHMAN AND BUDDHIST	30
3	HINDU AND MUHAMMADAN	46

PART II

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN INDIA

4	EARLY HISTORY	55
5	THE CHURCH AND THE OUTCASTES	65
6	THE ANGLO-INDIANS	83
7	CHURCH AND STATE	90
8	CHURCH UNITY	107

PART III

EDUCATION

9	THE POLICY OF THE BRITISH	117
10	ENGLISH EDUCATION	136
11	VILLAGE EDUCATION	152
12	MISSIONARY EDUCATION	171
13	A CONSCIENCE CLAUSE	189

PART IV

POLITICS

14	THE ILBERT BILL	199
15	THE NATIONAL CONGRESS	214
16	MR. GANDHI	225
17	THE KENYA COLONY	251
18	SOCIAL RELATIONS	270
19	POLITICAL REFORMS	283
20	NON-CO-OPERATION AND AMRITSAR	302
21	THE OUTLOOK	319
INDEX		333

PART I

THE CONFLICT OF RELIGIONS

CHAPTER I

ANIMIST AND ARYAN

THERE is no country in the world where religion plays a more important part in the daily life of the people than it does in India. It not only ushers them through the great events of their earthly existence, birth, marriage and death, and fixes their position in the social scale, but it even decides what they may eat and drink, who may prepare their food and when it is lawful for them to be shaved. I have known an important public function to be postponed because on the date fixed the leading Hindus of the place would have been obliged to appear with a three days' growth upon their chins and cheeks. And even in these modern days it is practically impossible to keep religion out of politics. In spite of the strong objections and protests of Mr. Montagu it was found necessary under the recent Reform Bill to grant communal representation to Muhammadans, Christians, and, to a certain extent in South India, to non-Brahmans. The first issue put before the electorate of the Madras Presidency was not political but religious, Brahman *versus* non-Brahman.

It is impossible, therefore, to understand the past history and civilization of India or the present political situation without some knowledge of the religious beliefs and customs that have so profoundly influenced the life and character of the people. At the same

time it is not an easy task to explain in a short space what those religious beliefs and customs are. There are four great religions in the Indian Empire, Hinduism, Muhammadanism, Buddhism and Christianity; and in addition there are communities of Jews and Parsees and a number of small sects, offshoots of Hinduism or Muhammadanism. Hinduism, too, is in itself a perplexing jungle of religious ideas and practices, ranging from the crudest animism to the most abstract philosophy. It is difficult, therefore, to answer the question, what Hinduism really is. A man may be a polytheist, a pantheist, a theist or an atheist; he may believe that God is personal or impersonal, that man has a soul or has no soul, that the material universe has a real or only an illusory existence and yet may be a Hindu. The only thing that seems to be absolutely essential is that he should observe the rules of caste.

All I will now attempt is to give a general idea of the main forms of religion that have existed in India during the last four thousand years and have exercised any considerable influence on Indian civilization.

ANIMISM

First there is animism. In the government census of 1921 the animists number only about 9,700,000. But this gives a very misleading idea of the importance of animism in the religious life of India.

It was the religion of the aboriginal races, Dravidian and Turanian, who inhabited India before the Aryan invasion and who still form, especially in South India, the majority of the population. Out of about 320,000,000 people in the whole Indian Empire only about 20,000,000 at the most are pure Aryans. In

North and West India, a large number of the people are of mixed blood, Dravidian, Turanian, Aryan and Scythian, while in South India about 95 per cent. are pure Dravidians.

These racial divisions largely determine the character of the religion of the people. Among the pure Aryans there is little or no animism. Where there is a large admixture of Aryan blood, Hinduism is the prevalent type of religion and animism recedes into the background ; but in South India, where there are only about 2,000,000 Aryans out of a population of about 60,000,000, animism is practically the religion of the people, though the gods of Hinduism are worshipped as well.

As the whole of what are called the untouchable classes throughout India, numbering about 50,000,000, are entirely excluded from the Hindu temples and have no part or lot in Hindu worship, however they may be classed in the government census, they are animists pure and simple.

My own personal knowledge of animism is derived mainly from the villages and towns of South India, where, with the exception of the Brahmans, Christians, Muhammadans and the educated Hindus, the whole body of the people are animists.

Animism has been described by Professor Tyler as " the groundwork of the philosophy of religion, from that of the savages up to that of civilized man." And he says that it divides into two great dogmas, first concerning souls of individual creatures, capable of continued existence after death, and second, concerning other spirits who control the events of the material world and man's life here and hereafter.[1]

[1] *Primitive Culture*, vol. i, p. 426.

But in India to-day this primitive philosophy of spiritual forces has become fossilized in a vast system of weird, fantastic rites and ceremonies that have largely lost their meaning. The world is supposed to be peopled with a multitude of spirits good, bad and indifferent, but all of them liable to take offence and inflict diseases and other dire calamities on the villagers. They have their abodes in trees and forests, streams and pools, in the boundary stones of the village or in the stones and images set up in their shrines. Many of them are the spirits of men and women who have died violent or premature deaths or who have been notorious for their crimes. Some years ago I witnessed in a town in South India a deity in the making. A little girl was murdered for the sake of her gold ornaments and her body thrown into the canal. When the body was recovered it was laid at the foot of a tree before being taken off to the burning ghat. Later on a small shrine was erected under the tree and sacrifices offered before it to the spirit of the murdered girl. Later still a woman made offerings at the shrine and asked for the boon of a child. A child was born and immediately the fame of the new deity spread far and wide. A larger shrine was built and the spirit of the girl became a popular local goddess.

Every village is under the protection of some one goddess who is its guardian deity and is called the village goddess. Probably these village goddesses came into being when the people began to settle down to agriculture. In India, as elsewhere throughout the world, the spirit that represents the fertility of the land is female. The names of these village deities are legion and so are the stories told about

them in the folk-lore of the people. They are generally represented by small conical stones about 4 or 6 inches high or by bas-relief images on slabs of stone or by images of stone, metal or clay, placed in a small shrine or at the foot of a tree, and sometimes by earthenware or brass pots filled with water. Many of them have male attendants, and among the Tamils in South India there is a male deity called Iyenar who is regarded as the watchman of the village. He is supposed to fly round the village every night with flaming eyes and long flowing locks, mounted on a ghostly horse to scare away the malignant spirits; so the villagers offer models of clay horses at his shrine to provide him with the necessary remounts.

In many villages the shrine of the goddess is simply a rough stone platform under a tree with stones or iron spears stuck on it to represent the deity. The boundary stone of the village lands is very commonly regarded as the habitation of a local deity. In some villages there is no permanent shrine, but a temporary one, made of bamboo poles and cloth, is put up to accommodate a clay image of the deity whenever a sacrifice is offered to her. Occasionally I have seen simply a pillar of stone standing up in the middle of a field as the symbol of the goddess.

There is no priestly caste to perform the sacrifices to these deities. The *pujaris*, as the officiating ministers are called, are chosen from many different castes and even the outcastes have a recognized place in the worship. The washermen often take a leading part, and the saying, current in some parts of South India, that the cholera goddess is the mother of the washerman, indicates a faint perception of the true origin of that fell disease.

Animal sacrifices are freely offered to these deities and human sacrifices are still occasionally detected in remote places. During an epidemic of cholera or smallpox in a village I have known as many as a thousand sheep or goats killed in one night, till the place of sacrifice literally ran with blood and the heads of the victims piled before the goddess formed a pyramid 15 feet high. The chief victim in South India is the buffalo. During the war when we had many soldiers on leave from Mesopotamia in one of the hill stations of the Madras Presidency, I arranged for about twenty of them to go and see a buffalo sacrifice at midnight. They were received with much honour by the people and given seats quite close to the shrine. They had seen many revolting sights in Mesopotamia; but when the buffalo was killed in rather a bungling way by the *pujari*, about half a dozen of them were sick on the spot.

One peculiarly nasty piece of ceremonial in some of the Telugu villages is the grand procession when a basketful of boiled rice soaked in the blood of the victim is carried round the village and sprinkled over the houses and fields by one of the *pujaris*, who holds between his teeth the liver of the victim and wears its entrails suspended round his neck!

In some places the ceremonies are cruel as well as nasty. It is not uncommon for the people to bury a pig up to its neck at the entrance of the village and drive all the cattle over it, so that the wretched animal is trampled to death and its blood spurts over the feet of the cattle to protect them against disease. In many villages, too, though this is forbidden by law, the worshippers make a small wooden cart with a sharp stake standing up at each of the four corners and

impale a live pig or lamb upon each stake. The cart is then dragged round the village by the people amid much excitement till the poor animals are bled and jolted to death. This is supposed to be very efficacious in appeasing an angry goddess.

The treatment of the blood is an important and interesting feature of these animistic rites. It is generally believed that the blood is the life, and for that reason it is supposed to be specially acceptable to the goddesses and to have a peculiar power of keeping away evil spirits. After the victim is killed the worshippers often dip their fingers in the blood and smear it on their foreheads and breasts. It is also sprinkled on the gates of the village and the houses, or poured on the boundary stones. While the sacrifice is being offered great care is taken to prevent a man from any other village getting possession of any portion of the blood or of any of the earth soaked in the blood and thus transferring the whole merit of the sacrifice to the village to which he belongs.

In one of the largest towns of South India, with about 50,000 inhabitants and many high-schools and colleges, there is a yearly sacrifice to a local goddess which illustrates the strange juxtaposition in India of crude superstition and modern enlightenment. The *pujari* is lifted up on a platform in the presence of a vast concourse of people and about a thousand lambs are sacrificed by having their throats cut. The blood of the first two or three is collected in a large silver bowl and the *pujari*, who is supposed to be indwelt by the goddess, drinks it all off; and then as each of the thousand lambs is killed it is handed up to him and he sucks its blood. It is utterly disgusting, but the idea at the bottom of it is that the

goddess inside the *pujari* really drinks the blood and so takes to herself the life of the victims.

There is a curious use of the blood in some parts of the Telugu country. When the head of the victim is cut off, it is collected in a vessel and different kinds of grain are put into it. The vessel is then put in the shrine of the goddess before the idol and left there for three days. On the fourth day it is taken out and the blood carefully washed away, while the peasants stand round eagerly watching the grains, as those which have sprouted are supposed to be the right ones to sow that year.

The worship of trees and serpents is very common and obviously very primitive. The deadly cobra is specially an object of worship. In many places in South India there are platforms with a number of stone slabs with hooded cobras carved on them in bas-relief. These are worshipped very commonly by women who wish for children. In one village that I visited there was a cobra living at the bottom of a large ant-heap near the school. The teacher regularly fed it by putting a saucer of milk in the schoolroom! So the cobra paid its daily visit, drank its milk, glided in and out among the children and then went home. No one was afraid of it, no one would have dared to kill it and it never did any harm.

A less pleasing feature of animism is the widespread practice of black magic. One method is to make an image of clay or dough or wood of the person who is to be attacked and stick pins into the parts representing his heart or liver or brain. This is supposed to cause corresponding injuries to the person whom the image represents. The belief in the efficacy of black magic is so strong that I have known people

actually die of fright when they knew that black magic was being practised against them.

The belief in the evil eye, too, is almost universal. Grotesque and often indecent figures or earthen pots with staring white marks are set up in the fields where the crops are growing, so that if anyone, who has the evil eye, happens to pass by he will look first at these objects and the malign influence will be diverted from the crops. For the same reason the women draw elaborate geometrical designs with white powder in front of their houses.

It is probable that phallic worship and most of the immoral customs now associated with the worship of the female principle in nature, were derived from the animism of the Dravidian races. But at the present time they are common features of Hinduism all over India and are not distinctive of the animistic cults.

THE RELIGION OF THE ARYANS

About 1500 B.C. the Aryan invaders poured into India through the North-West frontier from the plains of Central Asia and gradually made their way to the river Indus and into what is now the Panjab, and later on spread over the whole of North India. They brought with them a higher form of religion than the crude animism of the aboriginal races whom they fought against and conquered. Their gods were the powers of nature, earth and heaven, sun and moon, sky and dawn, wind and storms, fire and also the soma plant from which they made the intoxicating drink that cheered their hearts. They worshipped the spirits of their ancestors and believed in demons. The hymns, which they chanted in honour of their gods and which are now preserved in the collection

known as the Rig-Veda give us a clear idea of their religion and to some extent of their social life.

At the time when the Aryans entered India they were already divided into three classes, the warriors, the priests and the people. These classes were not rigid and exclusive, though they naturally tended to be hereditary. Families of priests already existed and specialised in religion, as the warriors specialised in war. The people were the herdsmen, artisans and traders of the tribe. The warriors pushed forward in their career of conquest, while the people formed the base of supply and followed after to occupy the land, and as they settled down become agriculturists as well as herdsmen. As the aborigines were conquered and reduced to a state of serfdom, they came to form a fourth class of the community. So that by the time the Aryans had conquered North-West India from the mountains of Afghanistan to the modern city of Delhi the population consisted of the warriors, the priests, the farmers and the serfs. The farmer class also included the merchants and traders. This class division, however, was not the same thing as the caste system which afterwards became such an important feature in Hindu society. There was a sharp division from the first between the Aryans and the aborigines, but the division between the three Aryan classes did not become inviolable till a later period.

The religion contained in the hymns of the Rig-Veda, which were probably composed between about 1500 and 1000 B.C., was mainly the religion of the warriors and priests. The people seem to have had their own gods. Probably their religion retained a good deal of primitive animism and magic.

In the earlier period of the invasion during the

fierce struggle with the aborigines the warriors were naturally the most important class and their chief god was Indra the god of war. A large number of the hymns in the Rig-Veda are in honour of this deity, who is described as riding upon the storm, hurling the lightning, destroying the strongholds of heaven and earth, armed with clubs, arrows and thunderbolts, and driving his golden chariot to battle. He was originally the storm god, whose function it was to conquer the demon of drought and darkness and set free the rain and the light. As the god of war he is frequently invoked to give help to the Aryans in their conflicts with the aborigines.

When the victory of the Aryans was complete and the Aryans settled down in the conquered country from the river Indus to the mouths of the Ganges the warriors gradually lost their importance and the supremacy was transferred to the priests. A different type of deities then came to the fore, the products of an age of reflection.

In some of the later hymns there is a strong tendency towards monotheism. Whatever god was being worshipped is spoken of as though he were the supreme deity of the universe. And some of the hymns show the germs of lofty ideas of the righteousness and goodness of God. Varuna, the god of heaven, is addressed as the upholder of law and order and of the moral principles on which the universe is founded. He is also the deliverer of mankind, and men oppressed with a sense of wrongdoing and sin appeal to him in language not unworthy of the Old Testament. In some of the hymns, too, there is a tendency to abstract ideas which reveal an advance towards philosophic thought. The earlier deities are concrete objects of

nature, but a few of the later deities represent pure abstractions. There is the lord of prayer (*Brihaspati*), for instance, and the goddess *Aditi* (unbinding or freedom), the mother of Varuna the god of heaven, and, like her son, a deliverer from sin and suffering.

The Vedic gods were regularly worshipped with animal sacrifices, the most important and most expensive being the sacrifice of the horse. The idea that it was wrong to kill animals or to eat beef was unknown to the Aryan warriors of the Vedic period. Even human sacrifices were not unknown. During the sacrifices hymns were chanted by the poets of the tribes in honour of the gods, and were regarded as an important means of making the sacrifices acceptable and winning the favour of the deities.

The struggle between the Aryans and the aborigines brought their two different forms of religion into close contact and sharp conflict. Like the wars of the Israelites against the old inhabitants of Canaan the invasion of the Aryans was partly of the nature of a crusade. Indra, the god of battle, was invoked to help his worshippers and was praised for making the magic of the aborigines powerless and conquering their black skins. We know comparatively little about the history of the invaders during this period, but it is clear from the Vedic hymns that the struggle was long and bitter and evoked on the side of the Aryans a feeling of profound racial antagonism towards the aborigines, whom they called fiends and demons, worshippers of mad gods, having no sacred fires, eaters of raw meat and dangerous sorcerers.

This conflict had a direct and far-reaching influence not only upon the social and religious life of the Aryan invaders, but ultimately on the whole civilisation of

India. It was the main cause of the development of the caste system as a religious institution.

In Sanskrit, the language of the Vedic hymns, the word which we translate by caste meant literally "colour," and Indra is praised for protecting the Aryan colour. These facts tend to show that the rigid division between Aryans and aborigines, when the latter were made part of the Aryan community as a fourth class, was based upon the colour bar as well as on religious differences. To overstep this division, therefore, was both the violation of a strong social sentiment, and an offence against religion. From both points of view, to intermarry, to eat and drink, to have any social relations with fiends, who eat raw flesh, worshipped mad gods and had no sacred fire, was utterly abhorrent. We can understand the feelings of the Aryans in this matter if we combine the attitude of the Israelites towards the ancient inhabitants of Canaan, and that of the white people in the Southern States of North America towards the negro population.

This was the origin of the caste principle. It applied at first only to the division between the white-skinned Aryans and the black-skinned aborigines; but as time went on it was extended to the three classes of the Aryans themselves, till the primitive division of society into warriors, priests and people became transformed into the later system of caste, in accordance with which the divisions were absolute and exclusive. The members of the different castes could not eat or drink together, nor intermarry. They practically lived apart in water-tight compartments. And they could not pass from one caste to another. In whatever caste a man was born in that he must remain

till the day of his death. The whole system was then based not on social convenience but on religious principle. The different castes were said to have sprung from different parts of the creator, the priests from his head, the warriors from his arms and chest, the farmers and traders from his belly and the fourth caste from his legs. As time went on both the three Aryan castes and the large fourth caste of the aborigines were broken up into innumerable subdivisions and the same rigid principle was applied to them all.

It is impossible to over-estimate the sinister importance of this movement for the establishment and extension of the caste system upon the civilisation of India. It has made the social life of India unlike that of any other country in the world, either in ancient or modern times. And at the present day it is one of the greatest obstacles that exists in the path of industrial, political and religious progress. It is often urged that in past centuries caste has fulfilled a useful purpose. And that is true. The caste organisation has kept society together in times of political chaos, when governments were weak and inefficient ; it has imposed upon the mass of the people a system of discipline and created among them a sense of corporate life and responsibility ; to a large extent also some of the castes have fulfilled the functions of trade guilds.

All that may be granted. But the fact remains that caste is utterly opposed to the ideal of human brotherhood, and is the consecration of class selfishness. No strong or happy social life can be based on such a foundation as this. And at the present time it is a fatal bar to the realisation of the cherished ambitions of India's ablest and most patriotic sons. Caste and

national unity ; caste and democratic institutions are incompatible ideals.

Another change that took place during the Vedic period in the religion of the Aryans was an enormous development both in the power of the priesthood and the rite of sacrifice. The two things went hand in hand. The priesthood, as I have said above, existed among the Aryan tribes as one of the classes of society before the invasion of India took place. It is probable that it arose very much in the same way as priesthoods have arisen among other peoples. We gather from the Vedic hymns that originally sacrifices were offered by the kings or chiefs of the tribes before going into battle or on other great public occasions, and that they called to their aid the poets of the tribe, who could compose and chant hymns in honour of the deity and so make the sacrifice acceptable. Then gradually the men who knew how to chant the right hymns, repeat the right formulæ and perform the correct ritual came to be regarded as all important and in time usurped the position of the kings as the offerers of the sacrifice. The development of the power of the priesthood was probably stimulated by the desperate struggle with the aborigines. It became then a matter of vital importance to make sure that the Aryan gods would be propitious and help their worshippers to overcome the magic of the fiends. And the evolution of the poets into a hereditary priesthood would naturally be helped on by the desire of the poets to keep within their own families a lucrative business. We read in the Vedic hymns of large gifts of 60,000 head of cattle or 300 horses and 10,000 cattle being made to the poets. Possibly the poets exaggerated the generosity of some of their patrons in order

to encourage the others. But in any case the business was sufficiently profitable to make it worth while to secure a monopoly for the family ; and this was facilitated by the fact that the hymns and sacrificial formulæ were not written, but committed to memory and handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation.

When the caste system was developed the poets became the priestly caste of the Brahmans, who have not only moulded and controlled the religious life and thought of India for the last 3,000 years, but have also been its literary class and to a large extent its statesmen and administrators. The philosophy, science, ancient poetry and theology of India has been almost entirely the creation of the Brahmans, and, whatever the race or religion of the rulers of India, the Brahmans have secured the lion's share of administrative power. The audacity of their claims to supremacy may be judged by the fact that they aspired to the position of gods. "There are two kinds of gods ; for the gods are gods and priests that are learned in the Veda and teach it are human gods," is a sentence from one of the prose works[1] much later than the Rig-Veda, which gives the key to the development of Hinduism for the last 2,500 years. When that claim was established the authority of the Brahmans was assured both in religion and politics, and India passed under the control of the sacerdotal caste more completely than any other country has ever done in the history of the world.

Closely connected with the rise of a hereditary priesthood was the portentous development of the ritual of sacrifice. The comparatively simple ritual

[1] *Catapatha-Brahmans*, II, 2, 6 ; IV, 3, 14.

of the early Vedic period grew into a system of extraordinary complexity. The Brahman caste, partly with a view to the exaltation of their own order, elaborated the ceremonies which were needed to make the sacrifices acceptable to the gods and exalted above measure the importance of the rite of sacrifice itself. The gods themselves, it is said, obtained their supremacy by sacrifice; they live now by sacrifice. If the priests did not offer sacrifice the sun would not rise. If the ceremonial of the sacrifice were changed the whole order of nature would be upset. If the priests entered or walked out from the place of sacrifice together instead of in a line, the months would not follow one another in due order. Sacrifice is "a means to enter into the godhead of the gods and even to control the gods; a ceremony where every word was pregnant with consequences; every movement momentous."[1] It benefits not only a man himself but also his ancestors; it wins eternal holiness; it gains all the good things on earth and is a means of injuring enemies.

There was, it is true, another side to the religion of the Brahmans. Underlying this gross and childish ceremonialism there was still a belief among the more thoughtful of them that moral conduct was of more importance than the rite of sacrifice. The growth of higher moral ideas is seen in the hymns of the Rig-Veda. The character of Indra, the god of battle, the popular deity of the earlier hymns, is on a much lower level than that of Varuna. He is described as drinking enormous quantities of intoxicating soma juice, and one hymn even depicts him in an advanced stage of drunkenness boasting of his greatness. He murders

[1] See *The Religions of India*, by E. W. Hopkins, pp. 187–8.

his father and destroys the car of dawn. He personifies an entirely non-moral force in nature. On the other hand, Varuna, who came into prominence at a later stage, is the upholder of law and order.

In the later law books, which regulate the social and religious lives of all classes of the people, there is a high standard of morality laid down side by side with the laws of caste and the rules of ceremonial observances. The law of Manu is the oldest of these works and is still the chief authority for the duty of an orthodox Hindu. Professor Monier Williams assigns it in its present form to about the fifth century B.C., and describes it as "a metrical version of the traditional observances of a tribe of Brahmans called Manavas, who probably . . . lived in the North-West of India, not far from Delhi."[1] It embodies, therefore, customs and ideas that belong to a much earlier age, and may be taken to represent the moral and religious ideas that were current during the sixth century B.C.

The whole code of laws is dominated by the institution of caste and the principle of the superiority of the Brahmans. But the rules given for the education of a young Brahman show that the superiority of the priestly caste was based on a superior culture and a high standard of moral life. He was initiated into the order of a twice-born man (i.e. the order of the three Aryan castes) in his eighth year by investiture with the sacred thread and then was supposed to live with his teacher and remain unmarried till he had acquired a knowledge of the Vedas. He was to bathe every day, to offer oblations of water to the gods, holy sages, and departed ancestors and to feed

[1] *Hinduism*, by Monier Williams, M.A., D.C.L., p. 53.

the sacred fire with fuel. He was to abstain from meat, perfumes, unguents, sensual indulgence, anger, covetousness, dancing, music, gambling, detraction of others, falsehood, impurity of all kinds and never to injure any being.[1]

This is not a bad moral training and inclines more to puritanism than to laxity. And when the young Brahman went out into the world, he was warned that *noblesse oblige*. Priests ruled the gods, but if they were hypocrites they went to hell. A priest that sinned deserved to be punished more severely than an ordinary man; for the greater the wisdom the greater the offence. A priest that drank intoxicating liquor would be reborn in a series of future lives as a number of insects. If he stole he would become a spider or a snake. If he spoke evil of his teacher he would be reborn an ass.

The moral code for the members of the other Aryan castes is rather less severe, but reaches a high standard. Manu sums up the moral duty of a twice-born man in ten Commandments enjoining contentment, patience, self-control, honesty, purity, control of passion, wisdom, knowledge, truthfulness and freedom from anger. And the rule of duty for all the four castes was not to kill or injure any living thing, to speak the truth, not to steal, to be pure and to control the passions.

If this represents the kind of teaching given by the Brahmans of that age to the general body of the laity it cannot be said that their religion was wholly a matter of rites and ceremonies or a system of barren metaphysics. At the same time the strong insistence on the extreme sanctity of the priesthood and the

[1] Monier Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

rules of caste has done much to create a false conscience in India and to put morality on a wrong basis. When it is said that if a man even threatens a priest he will go to hell for a hundred years and if he strikes him will be reborn in twenty-one sinful rebirths; and when four out of the five great sins are offences against Brahmans, we discern the trail of the serpent that has had such a fatal influence on the moral development of the people of India. The result has been that in spite of the high standard of morality taught by the best of the Brahman priests the general effect of their teaching and influence was to make the religion of the people increasingly mechanical, artificial and superstitious. The elaboration of rites and ceremonies is a disease which has afflicted all systems of religion. Our own forefathers at the time of the Reformation in England, as the Preface to our Prayer Book reminds us, groaned under the burden of "the Rules called the Pie." But these were a light and trivial matter compared to the rites and ceremonies with which the Brahmans swathed and shackled the religious feelings of the Hindus.

The conflict between the primitive animism of the Dravidian aborigines and the religion of the Aryans from those early days to the present time has been a long one and the two religions have strangely acted and reacted on one another. By about the beginning of the Christian era the Brahmans had began to borrow largely from the "mad gods" of the aborigines. Though the four Vedas were theoretically the basis and the source of all the Brahmanical doctrine, nearly all the gods of the Vedas were discarded and many of the new deities, especially the female ones, were borrowed from the animism of the aborigines. For

example, the goddess Kāli, who is now regarded as the wife of Śiva and is the chief object of worship by the Bengalis in Calcutta, is simply an aboriginal goddess; and many other aboriginal goddesses have been annexed to Brahmanism by the simple process of marrying them to the Brahmanical gods. And many scholars are of opinion that even Śiva and Krishna, two of the most popular gods of Modern Hinduism, were in olden times gods of the Dravidians.

This partial fusion of the old Aryan religion, as developed by the Aryan priesthood, with the religion of the conquered races was no doubt largely due to the gradual fusion of the two races in the course of centuries. Except among the Brahmans there is now very little pure Aryan blood anywhere in India. The barrier between the two races was gradually broken down, intermarriages became frequent, and by the beginning of the Christian era the Aryans as a distinct race had almost disappeared.

Naturally, therefore, the religion of the mass of the people was aboriginal rather than Aryan. The recognition and acceptance of this fact by the dominant Brahman priesthood was partly the cause of the victory of the Brahmans over the Buddhists. It led to the development during the first five or six hundred years of the Christian era of what was to a large extent the new religion of modern Hinduism, that was far more akin to the religion of the masses than either Buddhism or the old Brahmanism.

At the same time modern Hinduism just because it was more akin to the old animism came more directly into conflict with it. When the Brahman priesthood aspired to control the popular religion there was a fundamental antagonism between the religion of the

people and the ideas of the Brahmans which it was impossible to reconcile. During the thousand years between about 500 B.C. and A.D. 500 the Brahmans had adopted from Buddhism the principle that it is wrong to take life, and as a natural consequence had given up animal sacrifices. On the other hand animal sacrifices, as I have shown above, were the most prominent feature in the old animistic cults, and even the authority of the Brahmans has not been able to put them down, though it has made itself felt in some places in a curious way by imbuing the villagers with the idea that the shedding of blood is a low thing and could not be approved by really good and amiable deities. In many of the Tamil villages I have found that, when the animal sacrifice is offered in the usual place before the shrine, a sheet is drawn in front of the goddess so that she may not see the killing of the victim ; and the *pujaris* of the shrines have often told me that the animals are not sacrificed to the goddess herself, but to her male attendants, who are inferior beings and not only accept animal sacrifices, but also toddy and cheroots.

The conflict between the new Hinduism and animism, however, is now a thing of the past. The two religions have long ago settled down amicably side by side. The same people offer sacrifices to the village goddess and worship the more dignified Hindu gods, Siva and Vishnu. The Brahmans in the villages do not actually go to the animal sacrifices, but they often send rice, fruit and vegetables and even sheep and fowls to be offered to the goddess. I have come across villages where a Brahman was the priest in charge of the shrine of the village goddess and during the annual festival conducted the worship for two or

three days without any animal sacrifices, and then handed over charge of the proceedings to a *pujari* of lower caste, who during the remaining days sacrificed sheep and fowls according to the ordinary custom. I have even found a Brahman widow in charge of an animistic shrine, where animal sacrifices were offered.

But many years ago there was evidently a sharp struggle for supremacy between the two religions, the memory of which is still preserved in the folk-lore of the people in South India. A few years ago when I was on tour on the East Coast, north of Madras, I was shown a long manuscript on palm leaves, which gave the story of the village goddess, Ammavaru, as it is recited during the annual festivals. The *pujari* would not sell me the precious document, but allowed me to have it translated. It is a strange, weird, fantastic tale describing the birth of the newer deities Brahma, Śiva and Vishnu and their conflict with the older goddess. It began by describing the extreme antiquity of Ammavaru,

"before the existence of the four ages, before the birth of the nine Brahmans, when sleep did not exist in towns and villages, when the Ages had no time, before the birth of Mahesvara [i.e. the Great God, a title of Siva], before the appearance of sky and lightning, before the birth of Gautama Buddha and the sages, before the appearance of the Ocean of Truth, before the appearance of water reservoirs, such as tanks and lakes, when there were no roads, streets or lanes to towns and villages, before the creation of the world, even before the existence of wells to be defiled by the spittle of fishes, and before the human sacrifice, Ammavaru came into existence."

This method of describing a remote antiquity takes one's breath away: but it leaves no room for doubt that Ammavaru belonged to a prehistoric system of religion. What period elapsed after the birth of

Ammavaru we are not told, but in course of time she laid three eggs in a sea of milk. The first was spoilt, the second was filled with air and only the third was hatched and had three compartments, from which came Brahma, Vishnu and Śiva. The lower part of the egg produced the earth and the upper part the heaven. Vishnu was fed on butter, Śiva on the milk of Ammavaru and Brahma on turmeric. When the three gods grew up she made each one put on his forehead characteristic religious marks and finally built four cities, one for each of the gods and one for herself.

This evidently is an imaginative description of the fact that the new gods of modern Hinduism were largely borrowed from the animistic deities of the Dravidians. At first the relations between the two religions were friendly, but later on trouble arose. Ammavaru heard that the three kings, Brahma, Vishnu and Śiva were neglecting her worship, and one day Śiva sent his servant to abuse her. Enraged at this insult the goddess smiled grimly, trimmed her moustaches, dressed herself in a yellow cloth, put on copper jewels and a silver waistband, tied a golden ornament on her forehead, took a deer in one hand, a shell in another, and a small drum in a third, and put a snake round her body as a sacred thread. Then she called a durbar, sat down on a dais and declared that her worship was neglected and she herself abused. That done, she started off to the city of Śiva, mounted on a jackal and accompanied by palanquins and all kinds of weapons. Drums were sounded during the march.

The investment of the city was a quaint proceeding. Ammavaru created several kinds of animals, a fortified camp and a sage to conduct the siege. His

operations were those of the Hindu ascetic rather than of the warriors. He placed on the ground seven berries (like those used for rosaries by devotees of Śiva), and on these berries beads with marks like eyes, stuck into the beads needles with balls of sacred ash, then stood on his head on the top of the beads with his legs in the air. Birds built their nests on his neck, beetles and bees made their homes in his nose, plants of all kind grew round about him, and cobras made their abode in his armpits. He remained absolutely still and spoke to no one.

It was a splendid act of austerity, designed, like all the austerities of the Hindu ascetics, to win power over the gods. Apparently it was quite successful, as Ammavaru moved on from her camp, posted one sister to keep people off the road, a hundred other sisters, the female powers of nature, to keep watch, a twelve-headed cobra to coil its body round the city and spit poisonous fumes. Then, as she went triumphantly on her way a mountain was put on guard, forts were created and Ammavaru finally dismounted from her jackal and sat upon a throne. Then the great assault was made. A horse was brought, drums were beaten, the sky was turned into a pestle and the earth into a mortar, and after this general upheaval of the universe Ammavaru made the dumb to sing her praises, created tents with little demons inside to worship her, and so arrived at the city. First the heads of the three gods who refused to worship her, then the heads of seven other gods were cut off and put on again. One god's throne was made red hot and his hair all bloody; and demons were set to watch the corpses of the slain. A bloody battle followed. Horses and elephants, kings and gods galore were

slain and brought to life again and finally all began to worship Ammavaru.

But all this was only the beginning of the conflict. The story becomes more and more fantastic as it goes on and the last act is a battle royal between Śiva and Ammavaru, when nine kings refused to worship a woman. Śiva took their side and swore that under no circumstances should Ammavaru be worshipped. Then the goddess did her worst. Crows flew over the town in vast flocks from east to west, a strong wind blew and a storm of rain lasted for three hours, the people caught colds, coughs, and fevers, smallpox and cholera, elephants and camels were afflicted with disease, pregnant women suffered severe pains, babies could not take their mother's milk, gardens were destroyed, flowers and plants were killed by white ants, leaves by insects; wells and tanks were dried up; the dead bodies were carried out in carts by the north gate to the burning ghāt, seven princesses swooned and at last the nine kings began to abuse Śiva with all the curses they could think of. But Śiva, not a bit dismayed, sat on a golden chair and brought to life all the corpses. In the end Ammavaru and Śiva both came out triumphant and received the homage of their worshippers.

I have given a fuller account of this weird story elsewhere.[1] I refer to it here because, beneath all its absurdity and extravagance we can see the popular tradition of a struggle between the old religion of the village people and the new religion of the Brahmans, the dislike felt by the Aryans for the worship of the

[1] *The Village Gods of South India*, by the Right Rev. Henry Whitehead. The Religious Life of India Series. Published by the Clarendon Press. 2nd Edition, pp. 124–37.

female principle in nature, the varying phases of the conflict, the way in which disease and famine drove the people back to the worship of the older deities, and finally the drawn battle, as Śiva asserted his power, Ammavaru vanquished her enemies, and both continued to receive the worship of the people.

CHAPTER 2

BRAHMAN AND BUDDHIST

THE Indian mind seems to have a peculiar gift of philosophical enquiry. It loves to go back to the origin of things. When I was in Calcutta I was in charge of a Tamil congregation consisting entirely of domestic servants. We formed a guild for the young men of the congregation and at the first meeting to draw up the constitution the question was raised whether the age of admission should be sixteen or seventeen. The first speaker on this point was the Bishop's butler, who solemnly rose and said " In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." I was new to India in those days and did not realise that this problem of the origin of all things had obsessed the mind of India for three thousand years. Even in the later Vedic hymns composed about 1000 B.C. we find speculations about the origin of the universe. In some of the hymns heaven and earth are said to create the gods, and in others the gods are said to create the world ; in one hymn they create it out of the body of a giant with a thousand heads and a thousand feet. But later on mythology gives way to a genuine spirit of philosophic enquiry. There is evolved the idea of one supreme Being who created both the gods and the world. He is called " the Soul of all that moves and stands." But he is a mystery, and the poets often ask " who he is and out of what he made the world."

One name given to him is " the Lord of Prayer," who is described as having forged the universe together like a smith in the earliest ages when " from what was not arose what is."

The finest expression of this sense of mystery and desire to solve the secret of the world is found in the hymn which modern scholars have called the Hymn of Creation. I give the first and last stanzas in Professor Macdonell's translation :

" Not-being then existed not, nor being :
There was no air, nor heaven, which is beyond it.
What motion was there ? Where ? By whom directed ?
Was water there and fathomless abysses ? "

. . . . . .

" This world creation, whence it has arisen,
Or whether it has been produced or has not,
He who surveys it in the highest heaven,
He only knows, or even he does not know it." [1]

. . . . . .

From these poetical questionings there was developed later on the philosophic conception of a World-Soul, called Ātman (breath), and an impersonal source of all being called Brahmā, which literally meant " prayer " or " devotion." The latter idea is one which it is difficult to grasp. It is evidently derived from the deity mentioned above, who is called " the Lord of Prayer " and seems to be a personification of prayer and worship. It is an illustration of the confusion of thought, the slavery to words and unreal abstractions that are characteristic of so much of Indian philosophy.

The Ātman or World-Soul is described as being absolutely without qualities of any kind, so that it is

[1] See *Sanskrit Literature*, by Prof. A. A. Macdonell, p. 137.

impossible to predicate anything of it. In one passage, which illustrates the tendency of Indian thinkers to obscure an idea by throwing out a smoke-screen of words, it is said to be

" not large and not minute ; nor short nor long ; without blood ; without fat ; without shadow ; without darkness ; without wind ; without ether ; not adhesive, not tangible ; without smell ; without taste ; without eyes, ears, voice or mind ; without heat, breath or mouth ; without personal or family name ; unaging, undying ; without fear, immortal, dustless, not uncovered or covered ; with nothing before, nothing behind, nothing within. It consumes no one and is consumed by no one. It is the unseen seer, the unheard hearer, the unthought thinker, the unknown knower. There is no other seer, no other hearer, no other thinker, no other knower. That is the eternal in which space is woven and which is interwoven with it."[1]

But through this cloud of words we can discern the idea of an absolute, eternal and infinite Being, who is the source and origin of all that exists.

The problem which Indian philosophers tried in vain to solve was the relation between this infinite, eternal Being and the finite universe existing in time and space. For the most part they took refuge in metaphor, symbol and poetic imagery. In the passage quoted above the eternal Ātman is said to be " interwoven " with space.

Another account, more picturesque but not more intelligible, states that the material world is an illusion (Māya), produced by Brahmā in sport, just as a conjurer performs his tricks ; an account which confuses our idea of Brahmā as much as it mystifies us with regard to creation.

The relation of the individual human soul to the infinite and eternal Soul is more simply expressed.

[1] *Sanskrit Literature*, by Prof. A. A. Macdonell, p. 219.

It is identical with it, a doctrine contained in the Sanskrit formula that is still constantly used by orthodox Hindus, and is translated, " That art thou." The supreme goal of human endeavour, therefore, is to realise this identity. And since the World-Soul is impersonal and free from all qualities good or bad, identity with the World-Soul involves getting rid of personality and the consciousness of self.

It is obvious at once that there is a very wide gulf between this idea of the relation between the World-Soul and the soul of man, and the Christian doctrine that God is love and that union with God can only be effected by growth in love. The Christian ideal is an intensely personal life of moral perfection. The Brahman ideal is the negation of personality and an existence to which morality is irrelevant.

Two other ideas emerged in the philosophy of the Brahmans at this time, which have been the most widely accepted of all the doctrines of Brahmanism. One is the theory of the transmigration of souls. According to this theory the individual soul, so long as it is entangled in this universe of illusion and bound in the shackles of personality, must pass through an endless series of births and rebirths, during which it is subject to increasing sorrow and suffering. When it reaches its final goal and is freed from its separate personality and becomes one with the impersonal Ātman this series of births in the world comes to an end and the soul is finally saved from sorrow and suffering.

The other idea is the theory of Karma, or to put it in Biblical language, the doctrine that " as a man sows so must he reap." It is the modern theory of causation applied in all its rigour to human life and

actions. Every act must necessarily produce its inevitable result, which neither prayer nor sacrifice can avert or modify. When combined with the belief in transmigration, this doctrine of Karma on the one hand offers an explanation of the inequalities and apparent injustices of human life in this world, and on the other hand forms a stimulus to virtue. The slaves, the oppressed, the poor, and all whose life was one of suffering and sorrow were told that their misery was due to sins committed in a former life. It may not be consoling, but it seems to be just. And, as we have seen in the last chapter, fear of the consequences of ill-doing in a future series of rebirths was constantly appealed to by moral and religious teachers as a deterrent from evil doing. This doctrine has undoubtedly had a certain moral value in India. But it based morality on fear instead of love and left men and women with all their natural weakness face to face with an inexorable, impersonal, unmerciful and unloving law. For the vast majority of mankind it is a doctrine of despair, only relieved by the fact that the imagination cannot grasp the full meaning of its pitiless decrees.

The source from which this doctrine of transmigration was derived is uncertain. The Rig-Veda contains a few stray allusions to the souls of dead men going to the waters or plants. But, as Professor Macdonell truly says, "It is hardly likely that so far-reaching a theory should have been developed from the stray fancies of one or two later Vedic poets." He thinks it more probable that the Aryan settlers received the first impulse in this direction from the animistic belief that the soul after death passes into the trunks of trees and the bodies of animals, and then

" elaborated out of this idea the theory of an unbroken chain of existences intimately connected with the moral principle of requital." [1]

This, then, was the prevalent religious philosophy in North India from the valley of the Indus to the mouth of the Ganges, and from the Himalayan mountains to the Vindya range, when Buddha began his teaching about 500 B.C. He was not a Brahman, but a member of the warrior caste whose father was the king of a small state on the borders of Nepal. In his youth he was married to his cousin, the daughter of a neighbouring chief, and would in due course have succeeded his father ; but a spirit of profound pessimism, characteristic of the age, drove him to try and seek a remedy for the universal suffering of human existence. The stories of a later age tell how, awakened to the misery of life by seeing examples of old age, disease and death, he left his wife and child and his father's palace, abandoned all his wealth and power and wandered forth as a homeless ascetic. He became the pupil of first one Brahman teacher and then another, but failed to get any satisfaction or peace of mind from their systems of philosophy. Then he underwent a severe course of self-mortification and, attended by five disciples, fasted for many days till he was at the point of death. Finding that he still failed to attain peace he began to take food again. His disciples, thinking that his resolution had failed, forsook him, and he wandered alone to Bodh Gaya, where he sat under the sacred fig tree and there, after a period of doubt and temptation, arrived at a solution of the mystery. Four great truths are said

[1] *Sanskrit Literature*, by A. A. Macdonell, Professor of Sanskrit, pp. 287–8.

to have been revealed to him: (1) that suffering is inseparable from life, (2) that suffering is the result of desire, (3) that release from suffering can only be attained by suppressing desire and getting rid of individual existence, and (4) that individual existence can only be got rid of by following the paths revealed by Buddha.

These paths he taught were eight in number: four were applicable to all men, namely right vision, right thoughts, right words, right actions; the other four were applicable only to ascetics, namely right living as a recluse, right study of the law, right memory of the law, and right meditation.

Having found the way of salvation for himself he consecrated his life to the task of teaching it to all mankind. He gathered round him a body of disciples, trained them first to attain enlightenment themselves and then to preach the truths they had learned to all the world, to men and women, rich and poor, learned and ignorant. He formed his disciples into an Order of mendicants and teachers, and before his death exhorted them to learn, perfect, practise and spread abroad the Law that he had thought out and revealed.

Buddha is often spoken of as the founder of a new religion. But strictly speaking Buddha did not teach religion at all. He professed a complete agnosticism both with regard to God and the human soul. And he made no attempt to solve the metaphysical problem of the origin of the world and the nature of Being. When one of his disciples asked him whether the world is eternal or not eternal, he refused to answer, on the ground that the question was unprofitable and irrelevant. In all his teaching he practically adopted

the standpoint of the materialistic school of Indian philosophy which ignored God and the World-Soul and simply assumed the reality of the material world and the living creatures within it. He also took over from previous thinkers the ideas of the transmigration of souls and the law of causation embodied in the doctrine of Karma. And his moral code did not materially differ from the best moral teaching of his age.

Considering this lack of originality we may well wonder how it was that a system, which was based upon such an utterly pessimistic view of this world and " the fruitless expectation of nothingness " as the final goal of human life, attained the popularity which Buddhism attained in India and throughout the East.

It was due to four main causes. The first was the wonderful, attractive personality of Buddha himself. As has been truly said, " it was the individual Buddha that captivated men." [1] He was " the universal brother." The accounts that have come down to us of his life and ministry, reveal a character of surpassing charm and sweetness and at the same time of absolute sincerity and self-devotion. The philosophy that underlay his teaching was the product of his age. But his character was all his own.

The contrast between Brahmanism and Buddhism was largely a contrast between system and personality. Brahmanism reduced human life to an elaborate system of rules and regulations, rites and ceremonies, theology and metaphysics. Buddhism brought to men and women the attractive power of a radiant personality. Buddha, it is true, taught a philosophy

[1] *The Religions of India*, by E. W. Hopkins, p. 325.

of life and conduct to a select few ; a philosophy that only the wise could understand. But his personality was infinitely greater than his philosophy. We should naturally expect a teacher with such a profoundly pessimistic theory of life to be gloomy and austere : but Buddha radiated happiness, joy and loving-kindness wherever he went. He moved among men as the embodiment of love and brotherhood.

A second cause was the fact that Buddha made religion simple and intelligible to the ordinary man. The Brahman priesthood had made it a complicated and burdensome business with their elaborate and expensive sacrificial system. Their hymns, prayers and formulæ, and their religious teaching were in a language not understood by the people. And the laws of Manu show that, like the scribes and Pharisees of a later date, " they bound heavy burdens and grievous to be borne and laid them on men's shoulders." To be religious in those days a man must either submit to this burden of rules and regulations, rites and ceremonies, or he must be an ascetic and inflict upon himself an inhuman system of self-torture, or he must be a philosopher and lose himself in a desert of barren metaphysical abstractions.

But Buddha in teaching the multitude made a clean sweep of the whole system, sacrifices and ceremonies, asceticism and self-torture, philosophy and metaphysics, and laid the whole emphasis on moral conduct. He taught that sacrifices are unnecessary, that self-torture is of no value, that metaphysical speculations are unprofitable and that the man that is pure in heart is the true priest. " Be pure, be good," was the sum and substance of his message. To be kind, unselfish and loving, to do no injury to any

living creature, to control passion and desire and to live unspotted by the world was the true pathway to eternal bliss.

Teaching like this was not merely original, it was a revolution ; and it was given to the common people not in an unknown tongue, wrapped in mystery, but in their own vernacular, in simple language that they could understand, and in stories, parables and metaphors that made it vivid.

No wonder it met with a widespread response. It appealed to " the general heart of man," and it met the demand which the long-suffering laity of other religions have often made for something that they can understand.

A third cause of the success of Buddhism in India was Buddha's reaction against caste. The system of caste and the domination of the Brahmans had not been as firmly established in the eastern half of the valley of the Ganges as they were in the Panjab and the country about Delhi. The warrior caste chafed against the supremacy of the Brahmans, while the common people felt oppressed and degraded by the inferior position assigned to them. The fact, therefore, that Buddha denied the necessity of a priesthood commended his teaching to the warriors ; and the fact that he taught the principle of equality and brotherhood commended it to the common people.

At the same time Buddha was neither a democrat nor a demagogue. His first converts were Brahmans and warriors and the success of Buddhism to a large extent depended on the patronage of rulers and kings. But he abolished caste distinction within the Order of Mendicants and declared that all castes were united in the Order as all rivers are united in the sea.

A fourth cause that contributed greatly to the spread of Buddhism after Buddha's death was the creation of the Order of Mendicants. Like Ignatius Loyala and John Wesley Buddha had a great gift of organisation and by the creation of his Order he secured the permanence of his doctrine. It was not altogether an original idea. Almost all the Brahman teachers of that age gathered round them bodies of disciples. But Buddha was the only one who created an organised Church, which formed a strong centre of missionary activity and preserved in permanent form the teaching and influence of its Master. It resembled very closely the monastic system of the Christian Church.

"In different places there would be a park set apart for the Buddhist monks. Here they lived during the rainy season; from this place out as a centre the monks radiated through the country not as lone mendicants, but as members of a powerful fraternity. To this monastery came gifts, receipts of all kinds that would never have been bestowed on individuals."[1]

But for the Order Buddhism would have remained one out of many heretical sects. The Brahmans would have treated it with a kindly tolerance, and it would either have become a small unimportant body like Jainism, which was a kindred sect of the same period, or would gradually have been absorbed by Brahmanism and died a natural death. At the same time it also precipitated the conflict with Brahmanism by bringing into existence large and powerful monastic institutions which challenged the authority of the Brahman priesthood.

After the death of Buddha, about 477 B.C., Buddhism spread rapidly throughout India, largely through the

[1] *The Religions of India*, by E. W. Hopkins, p. 321.

influence of the Order. About 250 B.C. King Asoka, who reigned over the whole of North India and was one of the best and ablest rulers that India has ever produced, became a Buddhist, taught Buddhism to his people and established it as the State religion of his kingdom. In one of the numerous inscriptions, which still survive, he declares that the gods which were formerly worshipped in India had been rendered false by his zeal. Other kings and emperors patronised Buddhism as a matter of policy. Many of them were not of pure Aryan blood and would not have been admitted into the higher circles of Aryan society under the rigid caste system of Brahmanism. So they became Buddhists, endowed the monasteries, built temples and secured the powerful support of the Order.

About the beginning of the Christian era Buddhism spread to China and by the fourth century A.D. was adopted as the State religion. In India it flourished till about A.D. 500 and after that began to decay until about A.D., 1100 when it had almost entirely disappeared from India. At the present time, though there are Buddhists in Burma and Ceylon and on the slopes of the Himalayas, in the land of its birth Buddhism is a thing of the past. The victory of Brahmanism after a conflict of fifteen hundred years was decisive and complete.

The decay and downfall of Buddhism in India and the loss of the splendid moral force inherent in the example and character of Buddha was a tragedy, but it was inevitable. The causes which produced it lie deep down in the very heart of Buddha's teaching. His agnosticism was fatal. It left a void in his system which made it cold and unattractive when the glamour

of his personality had passed away and which superstition rushed in to fill. The strong religious instinct of the masses could not remain satisfied with a moral code without God.

At the same time to thoughtful men Buddha's moral teaching was left without any rational foundation. He taught the people that love was the greatest thing in human life and inspired them to kindle the flame of love in their hearts. But he taught his disciples that the one great purpose of life is to escape from suffering and sorrow by the suppression both of desire and of the consciousness of personality. The two doctrines could not be logically combined. Love is a form of desire, so that to suppress all desire involves the suppressing of love. And when personality becomes extinct, love becomes impossible. So the philosophy of Buddha brought back the very selfishness which in his popular teaching he strove to banish. It concentrated the whole energies of man upon what was essentially a selfish aim, the attainment of a state of bliss, which was called Nirvāna (i.e. extinction), in which he would be utterly unconscious of and indifferent to any other being.

When, therefore, the influence of his own splendid, loving personality faded into the past and became obscured by the fantastic stories and legends that grew up around it, there was nothing left to inspire ordinary men and women to lives of unselfish service. And the monks themselves, the guardians and missionaries of the teaching of their great Master, rapidly deteriorated and lost their moral power. The simple teachers of love and purity degenerated into selfish corporations corrupted by wealth and political power. They lost touch with the common people, and spent

their time in fruitless discussions or in strife and quarrels. At the time of its decay the Order had

"become a great machine, its spiritual enthusiasm had been exhausted; it had nothing poetical or beautiful save the legend of Buddha and this had lost its freshness: for Buddha was now, in fact, only a grinning idol."[1]

And while Buddhism thus decayed and lost its moral force, Brahmanism absorbed all that was really vital in its philosophy of religion, such as the doctrines of transmigration and Karma and the prohibition against taking life or doing injury to living things. And in addition it gave to the mass of the people something to satisfy their religious instincts.

Out of the long conflict with Buddhism modern Hinduism was born. It is not the old nature worship of the Aryans nor the philosophic pantheism of the Brahmans nor the animism of the aborigines, but a complicated mixture of all three, with some elements derived from Buddhism. Professor Monier Williams describes it as

"an ancient overgrown fabric with no apparent unity of design—patched, pierced, restored and enlarged in all directions, inlaid with every variety of idea, and, although looking as if ready at any moment to fall into ruins, still extending itself so as to cover every hole and corner of available ground and still held together and kept in its place, because supported by a hard foundation of Brahmanism and caste."[2]

It might equally well be compared to a large lumber room or a vast quagmire. Primitive superstitions, weird ceremonies, rites and customs, the belief in one supreme God and in twenty million gods and goddesses, philosophical abstractions of every con-

[1] *The Religions of India*, by E. W. Hopkins, p. 432.
[2] *Hinduism*, by Monier Williams, M.A., D.C.L., pp. 84–5.

ceivable kind, are all heaped together in miscellaneous confusion. And for the mass of the people it is a quagmire in which there is no possibility of progress and much to degrade and defile.

There is no doubt much in modern Hinduism which from a religious and moral point of view is good and elevating. A great deal of the religious poetry is inspired by a lofty morality and the love of God. But a system of religion in which prostitutes are provided in the very temples of the gods, in which the phallus is one of the most popular symbols of the deity, in which the gods themselves are described as guilty of immoral acts and in which gross immorality is tolerated as an act of religious worship and devotion, cannot make for purity of life and conduct. And it would fill a volume to describe the superstitions and degrading rites and customs which form an integral part of modern Hinduism.

Happily a large number of Hindus are far better than their creed, and deplore and abominate these debasing features of Hinduism. During the last century many protests have been made against these evils and various reforming sects have been started. But the most striking feature about all these sincere and earnest efforts at reform is their powerlessness. Most of the reforms that have been effected during the last hundred years, such as the putting down of human sacrifices, and of the burning of widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands, were not effected by the influence of public opinion in Hindu society, but by the power of the British Government. In the matter of moral reform Hinduism is paralysed by the fact that neither the many deities of the multitude nor the supreme Being of the philosophers are necessarily

moral. This fundamental fact must be kept steadily in mind when we consider the possibility of any great moral and spiritual revival in Hinduism itself.

A religion cannot rise higher than the god or gods that are worshipped. So before Hinduism can be reformed it must discard its gods. But the downfall of Buddhism has shown that this negative movement of itself will be of no avail. The profoundly religious spirit of the Indian people craves for a religion. And the future destiny of India depends mainly on the acceptance by her people of a religion that can satisfy their highest spiritual longings and concentrate all its forces on their moral and social progress.

CHAPTER 3

HINDU AND MUHAMMADAN

A NEW religion came into India with the Muhammadan invasion which began about A.D. 1000. For two centuries their conquests were limited to the Panjab, but about A.D. 1200 they advanced down the valley of the Ganges, and conquered the whole of North India to the lower delta of Bengal.

It was not an easy conquest. The invaders were vigorously opposed by the Rajput States and even after two centuries the Hindus were conquered rather than subdued. Many of the States in North India remained independent, though tributary to the Muhammadan sovereign ; and in South India the Hindu Confederation, which had its capital at Vijianagar, was not broken up till 1565.

The earliest invaders were inspired by a fanatical zeal for the propagation of their faith. Mahmoud of Ghazni, who led the first expedition, took the name of " idol-breaker." The story is told of him by a Muhammadan chronicler that after the capture of Somnath in Gujerat, on the West Coast, he went into the famous temple of Siva and was offered by the Hindu priests an enormous sum of money if he would spare the idol. He replied that he would rather be known as the breaker than the seller of idols, and smashed the idol with his mace. Forthwith there poured out of its interior a vast mass of precious

jewels, which amply rewarded Mahmoud for his piety.

But with the accession of Akbar the Great, the grandson of Babar who founded the Moghul Empire, there was a complete change of policy.

His reign from A.D. 1556 to 1605 was the most glorious period of Muhammadan rule. It was

> " a reign of pacification. On his accession in 1556 he found India split up into petty Hindu and Muhammadan kingdoms, and seething with discordant elements ; on his death in 1605 he bequeathed it an almost united empire." [1]

This policy of conciliation he pursued not only in the sphere of government, but also in that of religion. His favourite wife was a Hindu, another was a Christian ; and he gathered at his Court eminent professors of many faiths, Brahmans, Mussalmans, Zoroastrians, Jews and Christians. Finally he promulgated a new religion of his own which he fondly hoped would embrace the best features of them all. He himself was to be the chief prophet and supreme pontiff of this " Divine Faith." He worshipped the sun as the representative of the soul of the universe and allowed his disciples to prostrate themselves before him. It was a curious illustration of the influence of the conflict of religions upon one of the ablest rulers that India has produced.

The splendour and power of Akbar's empire was maintained under his son Jahangir and his grandson Shah Jahan. But " the Divine Faith " did not prosper. Jahangir began by accepting it and allowed two of his nephews to become Christians. But he was not the type of man to commend a new religion to his subjects. He spent his nights in drunken revelry and discussed

[1] *Brief History of the Indian Peoples*, by Sir W. W. Hunter, p. 134.

religion over his cups. In the latter part of his reign he reverted to Muhammadanism and "the Divine Faith" was heard of no more.

In the reign of Aurungzeb, the son of Shah Jahan, from 1658–1707 not only the religion of Akbar, but his policy of religious toleration was completely abolished. Aurungzeb was an orthodox Muhammadan of a fanatical type. He imposed a poll-tax on all non-Muhammadans, expelled Hindu officials from the administration, and in various ways persecuted the Hindus. The result was a general combination of the Rajput States against him and the rise of the Sikh military brotherhood, which ultimately wrecked the Moghul Empire.

Muhammadanism, the religion of the conquerors, naturally had a considerable influence on the religious life of India. In some respects it was an influence for good. It stimulated the tendency towards monotheism, which first appeared in the Vedic hymns and for two thousand years had struggled with faint success against the dominant polytheism and pantheism. In opposition to the polytheism, idolatry, and superstition of Hinduism with its twenty million deities, Muhammadanism proclaimed the unity, righteousness and omnipotence of God. And these great truths gave to the Muhammadan religion a simplicity, dignity and majesty that were almost wholly lacking in Hinduism. The contrast between the two religions is apparent, even in their respective buildings. A visitor who travels through India even for a few months cannot fail to be struck by the difference between the Muhammadan mosques at Delhi and Agra and the Hindu temples at Benares, Trichinopoly and Madura.

So again the brotherhood of Muhammadans pre-

sents a striking contrast to the caste divisions of the Hindus. There is a real sense of unity among all Muhammadans which to a large extent overrides distinctions of race and class. And in this respect Muhammadanism in India can teach a lesson not only to Hindus but also to the Christian Church. I well remember a convert from Muhammadanism to Christianity, who was a graduate of Cambridge University and a clergyman of the Church of England, saying to me once in Calcutta, after I had preached on the need of unity in the Christian Church, that it was a great shock to him after his conversion to find that for the first time in his life he was not a member of a real brotherhood. I think that owing to the bitter racial antagonism that existed at that time in Calcutta between Europeans and Indians, he was led to exaggerate both the lack of unity among Christians and the reality of unity among Muhammadans; at the same time it gave much food for thought that an educated convert from Muhammadanism to Christianity did not feel at once that he had passed into an atmosphere of wider and closer fellowship.

The Muhammadan brotherhood has had little effect upon the caste system of Hinduism as a whole, but it has been a powerful attraction to the outcastes of Hindu Society. Many thousands of them have become Muhammadans during the last five hundred years. In East Bengal about two-thirds of the population are Muhammadans, nearly all converts from Hinduism. So too in South India a large number of the turbulent Moplah community on the Malabar Coast were originally low-caste Hindus.

And yet in spite of its witness to the unity of God and the ideal of brotherhood, Muhammadanism has

done little to advance the civilisation of India, and on the whole has been a demoralising influence. It has distinctly lowered the position of women. The seclusion of women dates from the Muhammadan conquest. The Hindus were compelled to follow the example of the Muhammadans in this respect in order to protect their women from the lust of the conquerors. And though the impure rites and customs of Hinduism might seem to have gone to the extreme limit in the consecration of immorality; Muhammadanism went a step further when it made the *houris* one of the attractions of paradise.

And in spite of its higher conception of God, Muhammadanism as a practical system of religion has fallen under the spell of fatalism. Dr. Sell, in his classic work on *The Faith of Islam*,[1] attributes to this the inevitable decay of all Muhammadan civilisation.

"The great strength of Islam," he says, "lay in the energy with which Muhammad preached the doctrine that God was a Divine Ruler, one who would deal righteous judgement, who 'taught man that which he knew not.' As the system became more complex and dogmatic, men lost the sense of the nearness of God. He became an unapproachable being. A harsh unfeeling Fate took the place of the Omnipotent Ruler. It is this dark fatalism, which, whatever the Quran may teach on the subject, is the ruling principle in all Muslim communities. It is this which makes all Muhammadan nations decay."

In the same way the conception of inspiration among all orthodox Muhammadans became so fixed and rigid as practically to exclude entirely all right of private judgement in the interpretation of the Quran. An eminent Muhammadan scholar, quoted

[1] *The Faith of Islam*, by the Rev. Edward Sell, .D., M.R.A.S., 2nd edition, p. 240.

by Dr. Sell, declares that the stagnation of the Muhammadan community in the nineteenth century was principally due to the notion that the right to the exercise of private judgement ceased with the early legists and that its exercise in modern times was sinful.

One result of this fatalism and rigidity has been that Muhammadans in India have fallen far behind the Hindus in education and all that makes for social progress. During the last seventy years they have been the most backward intellectually of all the religious communities in India, except the animists.

And this is no accidental feature of Indian Muhammadanism.

"Islam is in its essence stationary, and was framed thus to remain. Sterile like its God, lifeless like its first Principle and supreme Original in all that constitutes true life—for life is love, participation and progress, and of these the Quaranic Deity has none—it justly repudiates all change, all advance, all development." [1]

So there is no hope for India in the spread and influence of Muhammadanism.

[1] Palgrave, quoted by Sell in *The Faith of Islam*, 2nd edition, p. 262.

PART II

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN INDIA

CHAPTER 4

EARLY HISTORY

CHRISTIANITY did not exercise any widespread influence upon the religious life of India until after the establishment of the British Empire, and the rise of the modern missionary movement at the beginning of the nineteenth century. But a Christian Church has existed in India for over 1,500 years. The old Syrian Christian community in Malabar, on the south-west coast of India, claims to have been established by the Apostle S. Thomas. It is doubtful whether the claim can be established, but it is certain that a Christian Church with its own bishops and clergy existed in Malabar at a very early date. Kosmas, an Alexandrian monk, who was called Indikopleustes on account of his voyages to India, testifies that about A.D. 540 there were Christian Churches both in Ceylon and on the Malabar coast of India. And in A.D. 883 Alfred the Great, in fulfilment of a vow, sent an embassy to India, headed by Sighelm, bishop of Sherborne in Dorsetshire, with the alms which the King had vowed to send to S. Thomas and to S. Bartholomew. The embassy, as recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, successfully arrived in India and brought back many precious stones and aromatic liquors.

According to the traditions of the Syrian Christians themselves S. Thomas preached the Gospel first on the East Coast near Madras and afterwards in Malabar,

where he converted many Brahmans, ordained two priests and built seven churches, and then returned to the East Coast and was martyred on what has been known for centuries as S. Thomas' Mount. After the death of the Apostle and the clergy ordained by him the Church degenerated, and many of the converts relapsed into Hinduism. About the beginning of the fourth century the Nestorian Catholicos of Jerusalem sent Joseph, a bishop of Edessa, with a number of priests and deacons and seventy families to revive the Church, and there is documentary evidence to show that the Christians were an important body and received great privileges from the ruler of the country in the eighth century. Both the Jews and the Christians were evidently important mercantile communities at that time and received these privileges in return for the trade which they brought into the country.

When the Portuguese arrived in India at the end of the fifteenth century they were delighted to find a Christian Church established on the West Coast; but it was a shock to find that they were Nestorian heretics and knew nothing of the supremacy of the Pope. A century later, in A.D. 1599, the Jesuit Archbishop of Goa, acting under instructions from the Pope, held a Synod of the Syrian Church at Diamper, a village in the Cochin State, "to reduce them to the obedience of the Holy Roman Church and purge out the heresies and false doctrines sown among them." In order to leave nothing to chance the Archbishop ordained a large number of new priests, who then formed two-thirds of the Synod and carried triumphantly all the resolutions that he brought to the Synod in his own handwriting. The Archbishop of Goa

then became head of the Syrian Church, the old service books were altered, a large number of old manuscript books of theology destroyed and the Nestorian heresy was purged out by the efforts of the Inquisition. Fifty years later, in A.D. 1653, there was a revolt and about half the Syrian Christians separated from the Church of Rome. The Portuguese had successfully prevented any bishops from the Nestorian Church of Babylon landing on the West Coast ever since the Synod of Diamper ; but in 1665 a Jacobite Patriarch of Jerusalem effected an entrance into Malabar, which was at that time under the control of the Dutch, and was heartily welcomed by the party who revolted from the domination of Rome. The result was that the Syrian Christians joyfully passed from the Nestorian heresy to its opposite and received their bishops from the Jacobite Patriarch of Syria.

In 1795 the Dutch were supplanted in Malabar by the English, and in 1806 Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General of India, sent the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, the Vice-President of the College at Fort William, Calcutta, to investigate the condition of this ancient Christian Church. In 1817 the Church Missionary Society sent two missionaries to Malabar to restore and build up the ruins of the Syrian Church, and from that time has done much to educate the community. Unfortunately the reforming zeal of one of the Metropolitans led to a split among the Jacobites which has resulted in constant law suits and factions for the last thirty years and has sadly impaired the spiritual growth and influence of the Church.

It is a disappointing fact that the one independent Church of India with its own bishops and clergy and

a tradition of at least sixteen hundred years, has had so little influence upon the religious life of the country. Sir George Grierson is inclined to rate its influence higher than other scholars and maintains that the monotheistic teaching of Ramanuja in the twelfth century A.D. was derived from the Syrian Christians. But apart from that, it is difficult to discern that they have had any influence even on the religious life of South India.

This is partly due to their isolation from the rest of Christendom, which cut them off from all the currents of Western life and thought for many centuries. The only Churches with which they came into contact were the Churches of Babylon and Antioch, which were fast bound by the rigid bonds of tradition. One summer the old Patriarch of Antioch, to whose authority the Jacobite Church of Malabar was subject, came to India to visit his flock and, I am afraid, to try and get hold of their property. He came to the hill station of Ootacamund, where he paid me a visit. He was a venerable-looking old man with a long white beard and a truly patriarchal appearance. When we met he kissed me affectionately on both cheeks and then we talked for a long time about the state of the Syrian Church. I asked him during the course of conversation what language his people spoke and he replied in a most matter-of-fact way, "The same as Adam." No wonder people are conservative with those traditions! It made me feel almost a die-hard myself to have been kissed by a Patriarch who spoke the same language as Adam. But, however beautiful this ancient tradition may be, it has laid a paralysing hand upon the life of the Syrian community in Malabar.

In later times the influence of the Church has been sadly weakened by its constant divisions and factions. Beginning with the split caused by the domination of the Jesuits the history of the Church for the last 250 years has been a constant tale of quarrels, schisms and law suits.

Then again the community has been strongly imbued with the Hindu sentiment of caste. The Syrian Christians themselves are divided into two distinct sections, one of which claims descent from Syrian and Persian ancestors, while the other consists of their Indian converts. The two sections are practically two separate castes. They seldom intermarry and do not worship together. They have separate churches and separate metropolitans, bishops and clergy.

At the same time the Syrian Christians as a body, with a few notable exceptions, will have nothing to do with the outcastes. During the last thirty years there has been a large mass movement in Malabar towards Christianity. Sixty thousand of the outcastes have joined the Church of England. But the Syrian Church will have nothing to do with the movement.

There have been many signs of revival and progress during the last twenty years and there is a great reserve of power in the devotional life of the people, but until the spirit of caste and the spirit of faction are driven out there is little hope of the Syrian Church playing any worthy part in the religious life of India.

The Roman Catholic Church had a great opportunity when the Portuguese came to India at the end of the fifteenth century, and it seemed at first as though Christianity would spread rapidly among all classes of society. Francis Xavier gathered into the Church many thousands of the fisherman caste in South

India, and de Nobili at Madura made a large number of converts among the Brahmans and higher castes. But the methods of the Jesuits were fatally wrong and could not possibly establish in India a vital and progressive Church.

In the State of Goa, where the Portuguese were supreme, the Inquisition employed their usual methods of persecution and no Hindu temple or Muhammadan mosque was allowed in Portuguese territory. The methods of Xavier and de Nobili, described in a later chapter,[1] were not calculated to lay a strong and lasting foundation for a Christian Church. The result was that even Xavier himself, with all his intense faith and devotion, despaired of converting the peoples of India without the aid of the secular power. He even suggested to the King of Portugal that every Viceroy should be warned that if he was not active in propagating the Christian faith by the use of the temporal power his goods would be confiscated on his return home.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, therefore, the large Roman Catholic community in South India, the fruit of the labours of S. Francis Xavier, Robert de Nobili and other Jesuit missionaries who laboured so devotedly at the beginning of the seventeenth century, had declined greatly in numbers and sunk down into a state of ignorance and superstition, little better than that of the Hindus. The Abbé Dubois, a famous Jesuit missionary who worked in South India at the end of the eighteenth century and lived in close and familiar intercourse with all classes of the people, both Christian and non-Christian, in his *Letters on the State of Christianity in India*, which

[1] See chapter xii, p. 172.

he published soon after his return to France in 1820, wrote in a spirit of despair about the condition of the Roman Church in South India at that time and declared that there was no human possibility of converting the Hindus to any sect of Christianity. The reason he gave for the collapse of the Roman Catholic Church in those parts is illuminating.

"The Hindus," he writes, "soon found that those missionaries whom their colour, their talents, and other qualities had induced them to regard as such extraordinary beings, as men coming from another world, were in fact nothing else but disguised Feringhis (Europeans), and that their country, their religion and original education were the same as those of the evil, the contemptible Feringhis who had of late invaded their country. This event proved the last blow to the interests of the Christian religion. No more conversions were made. Apostasy became almost general in several quarters, and Christianity became more and more an object of contempt and aversion in proportion as European manners became better known to the Hindus."[1]

He says of the results of his own devoted missionary labours:

"For my own part I cannot boast of my successes in this sacred career during the period that I have laboured to promote the interests of the Christian religion. The restraints and privations under which I have lived, by conforming myself to the usages of the country; embracing in many respects the prejudices of the natives; living like them, and becoming all but a Hindu myself; in short being made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some—all these have proved of no avail to me to make proselytes. During the long period I have lived in India in the capacity of a missionary I have made, with the assistance of a native missionary, in all between two and three hundred converts of both sexes. Of this number two-thirds were pariahs or beggars; and the rest were composed of Sudras, vagrants and outcastes of several

[1] *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies.* By the Abbé J. A. Dubois. Edited by Henry K. Beauchamp, C.I.E. 3rd edition. Editor's Introd., p. xxv.

tribes who, being without resource, turned Christians in order to form connexions, chiefly for the purpose of marriage, or with some other interested view."[1]

The Lutheran missionaries at Tranquebar were not much more hopeful than the Abbé Dubois. In 1807, when celebrating the centenary of their work, they said that they had become almost despondent, as their churches were empty and baptism and the Lord's Supper were despised.[2]

The one bright spot at that period was the district of Tinnevelly in the extreme south, where the Anglican Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge started evangelistic work in 1771. Frederick Schwartz, who though a Lutheran was one of the Society's missionaries, visited Palamcotta in southern Tinnevelly in 1778. The first convert was a Brahman widow, the mistress of an English officer, who instructed her himself in the principles of Christianity. After his death Schwartz baptised her with the name of Clorinda, and it was mainly by her efforts that a church was built at Palamcotta, the first church in those parts connected with the Church of England.

Ten years later an able Indian catechist, named Satthianadhan, established several new congregations, and in 1796 a Tamil catechist, named David, converted a large number of Shanars, the caste from which the majority of the Christians in Tinnevelly have come during the last hundred years. When a European missionary of the S.P.C.K. visited Tinnevelly in 1802 he baptised no fewer than 5,000 persons.

From that time the Church in Tinnevelly grew

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. xxvi–xxvii.

[2] Fenger's *History of the Tranquebar Mission*, publ. 1863, p. 801.

steadily in numbers and influence. Bishop Spencer of Madras visited it in 1841 and in his journal wrote about it with enthusiasm. On his recommendation the Society's mission was strengthened, a step which led to a large number of accessions. The Bishop speaks of the progress during the next three years as "sudden and mighty." In 1863 another Bishop of Madras said in his charge to the clergy of the diocese that "the sight of Tinnevelly scatters to the winds almost all that has been written to disparage mission work."[1]

The growth of the Anglican Church in Tinnevelly, therefore, must be set over against the pessimistic account which the Abbé Dubois gives of the Jesuit missions in South India. The failure of the Jesuits may be ascribed partly to the fact that they admitted caste distinctions within the Church with a view to the conversion of the Brahmans and partly to the fact that they did not educate the Christians.

While the Church was being rapidly built up among the villages of Tinnevelly in the extreme south a very different movement was taking place in North India. At the end of the eighteenth century the famous Baptist missionaries, Carey and Marshman, sailed for India, and, as they were not allowed to land in British territory, established themselves in the Danish settlement of Serampore, a few miles above Calcutta. Carey was a heaven-born genius. He started life as a cobbler with no education or natural advantages, and ended as Sanskrit professor in the Government College at Calcutta. His method was very different to that of the Jesuits in South India. He devoted himself to the translation of the Bible,

[1] *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, pp. 532–7.

the study of Sanskrit and the education of a few Indian Christians to be the teachers of their own people. The Baptist College at Serampore, which still flourishes, is his enduring monument. He and his colleagues made comparatively few converts, but they prepared a solid foundation for future progress.

In 1830 the famous Scottish missionary, Dr. Alexander Duff, arrived in Calcutta and opened a new epoch in the missionary work of the Christian Church in India. And soon after the Mutiny there began the great movement among the outcastes of Hindu society towards Christianity, which is now going forward with such astonishing rapidity and will in the immediate future have a profound influence, not only upon the building up of the Christian Church itself, but also upon the political, social and industrial life of India. Its significance will be understood when it is realised that it is both a great religious reformation and also the true labour movement of India. The work of Dr. Duff and the movement among the outcastes will be described in succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER 5

THE CHURCH AND THE OUTCASTES

THE most important feature in the missionary work of the Church in India during the last fifty years has been the mass movement on the part of the outcastes of Hindu Society towards Christianity. These outcastes are by no means a small body, nor are they a negligible quantity in the life of India. It has been calculated that altogether they number no fewer than sixty millions, and as they are scattered throughout the whole length and breadth of the land, they form a body whose influence affects the life and tone of every single village and town throughout that great continent.

What their origin is we do not exactly know, but it is certain that something like a thousand years ago the majority of them were reduced to a position of slavery, and up to the advent of the British Government in India were the slaves and serfs of their Hindu masters. Some of them have evidently belonged to races and tribes that centuries ago reached a considerable degree of civilisation. They are by no means people who have always been sunk in poverty or degradation. The greatest philosopher and the most popular poet in South India were both of them outcastes. The Madigas even, who are one of the lowest sections of outcastes in the Telugu country, have traditions which show that they were once a ruling race. It is the same with a large number of

the other outcastes throughout India. But now, as the slaves and serfs of India, their position is most miserable. The account which the great Jesuit missionary, the Abbé Dubois, writing at the beginning of the last century, gives of the outcastes of South India is heart-rending. He says that if he himself had the choice between the lot of an African slave in one of the plantations of America, and the lot of an outcaste in South India, he would undoubtedly choose the former. And even now that the British Government has done much to alleviate their lot, still their position is one of sad misery and terrible degradation. They have been kept deliberately in a state of abject poverty and utter ignorance. They are excluded from the temples; they are denied even access to the wells, and when there is a drought the sufferings of these poor people from want of water are most pitiable.

Religion, too, has added a peculiar bitterness to their lot, which was not inflicted even upon the slaves of the Roman Empire or the African slaves of modern times. It has stigmatised them as untouchable. It is a pollution for any caste man to touch an outcaste. In many parts even his shadow is a defilement. In some places he is not only untouchable, but unapproachable. I remember very well, when I was walking down a road on the Malabar coast, seeing some of these poor outcastes, who were walking towards me, suddenly run about thirty yards to one side of the road. When I looked back, there was a Brahman coming over the bridge behind me, and for fear that even their breath at that distance should defile and pollute him they were obliged to put their hands to their mouths and shout out, "Unclean! unclean!" as he approached. This stigma of untouchableness

has naturally deprived them of all self-respect and plunged them down into a depth of moral degradation that is worse than their physical misery.

When the Christian Church came across these people in South India some sixty or seventy years ago, for the first time in their miserable history they met a body of men and women who treated them as human beings, held out to them the right hand of fellowship, tried to work for their elevation and preached to them a gospel of hope and life. It is no wonder that, when they realised what Christianity was and what it offered to them, they turned to the Christian Church as their one hope of a better life and for the last fifty years have been crowding into it in their thousands and tens of thousands.

Looked at upon the surface it would appear that this great movement is social rather than religious, and proceeds from "the natural and laudable discontent" of the outcastes with their lot.[1] To a large extent this is true. The outcastes see in the Christian Church their one hope of escape from a state of slavery and degradation and the movement may fitly be compared with the labour movement in Europe during the last century. And even if that were all that could be said about it, I think that most people, who know about the condition of the outcastes and their past history, would certainly agree with the Census Commissioner that it is a very laudable thing for them to try to escape from their lot of misery. But this view of the movement leaves out of sight two very important facts. The first is that large numbers of the outcastes, when they become Christians, are subject to a bitter persecution. They often,

[1] *Report of the Census Commission Madras Presidency*, 1891.

if they have land or cattle, are deprived of them. Constantly false charges are brought against them, and they are unjustly thrown into prison. Sometimes they are beaten. I remember one of the missionaries in the Telugu country telling me that one man had come to him with his right hand terribly burned. When he announced his intention of becoming a Christian the caste people in his village called upon him to renounce Christianity. When he refused, they threatened to put his right hand into boiling oil. As he still stood firm, they carried out their threat, and he came to the missionary, having nobly stood fast under that trial, with his right hand charred and withered and utterly useless. In another district, when I visited it, I found that some six or eight of the new converts had been put into prison on an absolutely unjust charge. I baptised one old man by the appropriate name of Job. When he said he was going to become a Christian the head men of his village took away his cattle; when he persevered they took away his land. Then he came to be baptised, rejoicing that he had been thought worthy to suffer for the sake of Christ. Certainly from my own experiences I should say that it is by no means invariably true that these people have everything to gain and nothing to lose when they first become Christians.

And there is another fact that also needs to be borne in mind, and that is that there is always a very strong spiritual side to the movement. I have often been asked whether all these people who come over in large masses are converted. It is a very difficult question to answer, but in our own missions—and I can speak of them from personal experience—the first thing that many converts are required to do before

they are prepared for baptism is to pull down their Hindu shrine, and to build a Christian prayer-house in its stead. It may seem a natural and a simple thing to do, but it must be remembered that it involves a great victory over superstitious fear ; for one of the main features of the religious life of all Indian villagers is their terror of evil spirits. They believe that evil spirits are lurking in the tops of the palm trees, seated upon the boundary-stones of the village, waiting for them in every dark corner and ravine, ready to pounce down upon them if they walk out at night, ready even to fly down their throats if they yawn. The mere fact, therefore, that men are required first to show their faith by pulling down their Hindu shrine and building a Christian prayer-house involves a real inward conversion, a turning from the fear of devils to a belief in the love of God. That I should call a very true process of conversion. Moreover, they give up drunkenness and theft. I was visiting a district a few years ago where the people had only been Christians for about five years. They presented me with an address of welcome, and in it expressed their great thankfulness to God that He had brought them to know Christ and enabled them to live honest and sober lives, and then they added, with a touching candour and sincerity, " Before we became Christians every single man and woman among us was a drunkard and a thief." This may not perhaps indicate a very high degree of spirituality, but for those people their giving up those two vices was a real conversion from sin to righteousness. And yet if anyone were to ask them for an explanation of their spiritual state, he would sometimes get what would appear to be strange answers. They are not great hands at analysing their

spiritual feelings. The Bishop of Dornakal told me that he once held a convention for deepening the spiritual lives of some of the converts, and asked them, at the end of the convention, what they had gained by becoming Christians. He thought, of course, they would say they had gained salvation or a knowledge of the love of God, but they gave the rather disconcerting answer, "We are much better off." "Well," he said, "haven't you gained anything else? Is there nothing else God has given you?" "Oh yes," they said cheerfully, "we don't get ill." But why didn't they get ill, and why were they better off? Because they had given up drink, and the money they used to spend on drink, and the time they used to spend on getting drunk had been used to provide better food for themselves and their families. And why had they given up drink? Because they had become Christians. It was simply the fact that they had learned to believe in Christ and trust in the power of Christ that enabled them to take those first two steps, which were the beginning of an upward progress in morality, in social position, and even in health and prosperity. I should certainly say that men who, in that way, have made a good beginning have been really converted.

And nothing has struck me more, in reading the accounts of these great movements all over India, than the fact that almost everywhere the movement has begun and owed its real progress to one or two men or women of unusual spiritual insight and power. The movement in one part of the Telugu country began some sixty years ago with one man of this kind, who was utterly uneducated and illiterate. He was named Venkayya. He had never heard of Christ;

he had never received any Christian teaching; but at one period of his life he had become dissatisfied with idolatry, so he gave up worshipping idols and composed this simple prayer for himself, a very wonderful prayer for a man in his position: "O God, teach me Who Thou art; show me where Thou art; help me to find Thee." He said afterwards that he repeated this prayer night and morning for some two years. At the end of that time he happened to find himself in the town of Bezwada, standing by the bank of the sacred river Kistna, watching the Hindus bathing in the river to wash away their sins. A Brahman asked him whether he was not going to bathe himself. Venkayya replied that he did not believe in it, but was seeking the one true God. The man then whispered to him that there was a missionary living on the hill who would be able to tell him about the God he was seeking after. He went to the missionary, heard the story of our Lord Jesus Christ, and at once recognised that He was the God Whom he had been seeking for and praying to know. The missionary went to his village, and after about three or four months baptised Venkayya, with some sixty or seventy of his friends and relatives. From that time Venkayya went through the whole district preaching Christ. Hundreds were gathered in through his efforts. When he was an old man and absolutely blind, he used to sit at the door of his hut and talk about Christ and His Gospel to all who passed by. And in the district where Venkayya first began his preaching there are to-day over 70,000 Christians.

To quote another instance. A few years ago I heard of the beginning of a movement in a new district. I was taking a confirmation at Dornakal, and saw

there a strange-looking man belonging to the lowest section of the outcastes. He was very dirty and looked very stupid. He had come in from a place where the gospel of Christ had only recently been preached. He watched the confirmation with much interest. When he went back to his own village he told the people what he had seen and heard, and through his influence about 120 people put themselves under instruction for baptism.

And that kind of thing is going on all over India. One man with no education whatever, and the slenderest knowledge of the Bible or of Christianity, just lays hold of one or two simple truths and then brings a hundred, sometimes three or four hundred people, to put themselves under instruction. So that behind these movements there are not only great social and economic forces, the pent-up forces generated by a thousand years of tyranny and oppression, but also a sincere desire for religious truth and communion with God.

But this great movement among the outcastes raises in some minds anxious thoughts, and it is not by any means the case that during the past fifty years these movements have been universally welcomed. One question that has often been asked me is, " What is likely to be the effect of this movement on the work of the Church among the higher castes and the educated classes ? Are we not placing an almost insuperable barrier in the way of the conversion of the educated classes and the higher castes, by identifying the Church so largely with the outcastes ? " I cannot deny that it does at first create a difficulty. I remember, some years ago, when I was travelling in one of the Telugu districts, a message was sent to me from

some of the caste people to say that two hundred of them were willing to become Christians and would bring over many others, if only they could be allowed to have a church to themselves. I sent back word that the outcastes were just as much children of God as they were, and that if they could not enter the kingdom of God together with the outcastes, they could not enter it at all.

But, on the other hand, there is nothing which so effectually teaches the people of India, especially the higher castes, the true spirit of Christianity as our work among the outcastes. It strikes a deadly blow at the caste system. And in India caste is the enemy, both without the Church and within the Church. The Rev. Nehemiah Goreh, one of the most learned of the Indian Christians, himself a Brahman of the Brahmans, truly remarked that Christianity with caste in India would be no Christianity at all. Unless, therefore, we can eradicate caste within the Church and fight vigorously against caste without the Church, it is impossible ever, in any true sense, to establish the Christian Church in India at all. And there is no better way to strike a fatal blow at this caste feeling than by turning to the outcastes and gathering them by their thousands and tens of thousands into the Church.

Two things also have struck me during the last few years. The first is, that in the villages, where our work among the outcastes has been most successful, there has already begun a movement among the caste people. Already the leaven is beginning to work, and the influence of the elevation of these poor degraded people is beginning to have its effect upon the caste people themselves.

Secondly, there is no part of the work of the Church that has made a more powerful impression upon the educated classes throughout India than that among the outcastes. It is the one thing that reveals to them the superiority of Christianity over Hinduism. They may argue that the philosophy of Hinduism is superior to the philosophy of Christianity, and they may say, as they do say, that they prefer their fundamental religious ideas to ours ; but when they see that Hinduism has for a thousand years sunk sixty million people in the very depth of degradation, while the Christian Church has held out to them the right hand of brotherhood and is raising them out of their misery and despair, they are obliged to admit that there is a power for good in Christianity which there is not in Hinduism, and which Hinduism can never hope to gain. And this work not only wins their admiration, but, what is more significant, arouses their fears. Shortly before I left India I read an article in one of the leading Hindu papers of Madras on this subject. It drew attention to this fact of the conversion of the outcastes to Christianity and exhorted the Hindus to do what they could to counteract the Christian propaganda ; and the article concluded with these words : " We must remember that the conversion of the outcastes to Christianity spells the downfall of the hoary civilisation of India." The educated classes know full well that our work among the outcastes is one of the greatest blows that can be dealt to the whole system of caste and to that great barrier to the spread of Christianity which caste has so effectively raised.

But there is one more objection, and it is a more serious one. The question is often asked, " What

is likely to be the effect of gathering in these millions from the most degraded section of Hindu society upon the life and moral standard of the Church itself?" And it seems to me that this is a far more real danger than the other. But the conclusion that I would draw from it is, not that we should check our work and leave the harvest unreaped, deliberately excluding from the Church of Christ these millions of poor and helpless people, but that we should take up the work in right earnest. To raise up fifty million people from the very slough of despond and degradation is indeed a gigantic task. I can compare it to nothing but to the great task of bringing the Israelites out of Egypt. It seems to me that we have got to do precisely the kind of work that Moses did, and that we must expect the same kind of difficulties. There will be all "the cumbrance and strife," all the murmuring and unbelief, all the backsliding and disappointment that marked the education of the chosen people. If, then, the work is to be done at all, it is imperative that it should be done thoroughly, that we should take it up fully realising its difficulties, at the same time that we also see its magnificent opportunities.

And the experience of the past shows us plainly what can be done in the future. For one thing stands out clearly, and that is the marvellous capacity for improvement and progress that is latent in these people. When you hear of people eating carrion and living in filthy surroundings as drunkards and thieves, it seems an almost hopeless task to raise them up. Yet when we go to our Christian boarding schools and see there the outcaste boys and girls, we realise what can be done even in one generation. A few years

ago, when I was at one of the villages, and a large number of Brahman officials came in to see the Collector, who was touring in the same place, the girls from the boarding-school came to present me with an address and to sing their action songs. The Brahmans said to me afterwards in astonishment, "Why, those are just like Brahman children. We could not have told from the look of them that they were not the children of our own people." It is a striking fact that we take the children of parents who have been living in ignorance and degradation, and in a single generation turn them into good Christian men and women.

I will give a few illustrations of the effect of Christianity upon these people in the Telugu country, about which I can speak from personal experience. In the first place it is no exaggeration to say that if anyone who knew neither the language nor the people were to go through the villages where Christian missions are at work he could pick out the Christians from the non-Christians simply by looking at their faces. Even the Hindus themselves notice the difference. The Bishop of Dornakal told me a quaint story which illustrates this. He was taking a confirmation in one of the villages and about three hundred candidates came from the neighbourhood to be confirmed. As the little mud chapel was much too small to hold the congregation, the service was held in a large pandal, or pavilion, made of a thatched roof of palm leaves on bamboo poles with all the sides open. So the Hindus of the village were able to stand all round on the outside of the pavilion and watch the service. They were much impressed; and when it was over the leading men of the village went to the

Bishop and asked him to request the Government of Madras to give orders that they should all become Christians. The Bishop, much intrigued, asked why they wanted the Government to give orders and why they did not become Christians without any orders, if they wanted to. The reply was characteristic. They were afraid of one another, and no one liked to be the first to become a Christian, but if Government gave the order they would gladly all become Christians at once. Then the Bishop asked them why they wanted to become Christians and their answer was a striking one. "We have been watching the Christians praying," they said, "they are our servants; we know that they are very ignorant, and we look upon them as dirty, degraded and untouchable, and," they added quaintly, "they are much darker in colour than we are and not so good looking, but we see from their faces as they prayed that God is in them." It was a significant fact that the Hindus themselves should have felt that the very faces of the Christians revealed a spiritual life and happiness which their own religion could not give.

It is remarkable, too, that where the Christians are properly cared for and educated the stigma of untouchableness is gradually removed. When I first visited the town of Ellore twenty-three years ago the old missionary in charge of that district told me that in former years the large mission high school in the town, with about 500 pupils, most of them the sons of Brahmans and high-caste Hindus, had four times been completely emptied of all its pupils because a single Christian boy of outcaste origin had been admitted. When I visited the school there were forty Christian boys in the school, all of them outcastes,

sitting side by side with the Brahmans and no one raised the slightest objection.

In the same town, on the same occasion, I visited a large mission girls' school with about 500 pupils, all of them the daughters of Brahmans, high-caste Hindus and well-to-do Muhammadans, and every single teacher in the school was a Christian girl of outcaste origin. To anyone who knows the power and rigidity of caste in India, this is almost a miracle. Here were the poor, despised untouchable outcastes, whom it was a sin to teach, actually teaching the children of the people who despised them. It was said of St. Paul and his companions that they turned the world upside down. The same might well be said of the Christian missionaries in the Telugu country.

In another high school for boys in a different part of the Telugu country I found that there were about a hundred pupils, of whom about half were Brahmans and half Christians. The Christians had been studying with the Brahmans and mixing freely with them in the school games without any difficulty. I never heard of any objection to this being raised by the Brahmans of the town during the whole time I was in Madras. And what specially impressed me with regard to that particular school was, that when I studied the results of the school examinations and especially of the final examination conducted by the Government education department, there was hardly any difference between the Brahmans and the Christians as regards ability and intellectual development. And yet the Brahmans had behind them the hereditary tradition of three thousand years of culture, and the Christians the hereditary tradition of fifteen hundred years of slavery, oppression and degradation.

Another fact that is full of promise for the future is the advance which some of the outcastes in the Telugu country have made during the last few years towards self-government. I will take as an illustration the Christians in the Dornakal diocese, which until recently formed part of the diocese of Madras. The Dornakal diocese was constituted in 1912, when Bishop Azariah, the first Indian bishop of the Church of England, was consecrated and appointed to take charge of it. Originally it comprised a small part of the Telugu country in the eastern corner of the native State of Hyderabad. It has been gradually enlarged, and now comprises the whole of the mission work of the Church of England in the Telugu country, with 120,000 Christians, nearly all converts from the outcastes. During the time that I was in charge of this area as Bishop of Madras, the administration of the ten districts was entirely in the hands of European missionaries. A benevolent autocracy seemed to be the only possible form of government. When the diocese of Dornakal was fully formed, Bishop Azariah tried a bold experiment. He divided up the ten districts and put the administration in the hands of Indian councils, presided over by Indian priests, all of outcaste origin, with the European missionaries in the background, no longer as autocrats but as advisers. The experiment so far has been a striking success. Both the Indian clergy and the Indian councils have risen to the occasion, and shown unsuspected powers of initiative and management. It would naturally have been thought that, however necessary a step like this might be, the first result would be a great slump in efficiency. But that has not been the case. In many districts there has been quite a remark-

able advance in the number of converts, and in the contributions of the people towards the support of their clergy and schools.

There is no reason, therefore, why the gathering in even of millions of the outcastes into the Church should lower the standard of its moral and spiritual life, provided only that the Christian population is properly educated. The danger in the present situation is the lack of schools and teachers. The first, second and third thing needed is education. Villages have been crying out for teachers in the Telugu country for the last thirty years, and again and again there have been no teachers to send them. The urgency, the importance and the vastness of these movements was for a long time almost completely ignored, and even now is not adequately realised. Twenty years ago I drew attention to the problem presented by the mass movements, and strongly urged that the education of these people ought to take precedence of all other forms of missionary work, and ought to have the first claim on the resources of the missionary societies. My appeal was strongly and even vehemently criticised by missionaries in North India and by those who were the followers of Dr. Duff. The text, " these things ought ye to have done and not to leave the other undone " was often quoted against me ; but my whole contention was and still is that for the last thirty years the most important and urgent things have been and are still being left undone, while the things of less importance have been done instead. The position to-day is a simple one and easy to understand. At present 83 per cent. of the Indian Christians throughout India are illiterate ; and, at the same time, ignorant, illit-

erate outcastes are being swept into the Church at the rate of 2,000 a week. To slam the door in their faces and refuse to admit them into the Church would be a crime. To gather them in and then leave them uncared for and untaught, as has been done in many parts of India, is a greater crime still.

The present position in the Dornakal diocese, which comprises all the mission work of the Church of England in the Telugu country, is an illustration of the extreme urgency of the crisis and the result of past neglect to look ahead and provide for the future.

In 1899, when I first took charge of the diocese of Madras, which then included all the area that now forms the diocese of Dornakal, there were about 25,000 Telugu Christians connected with the Church of England. To-day there are 120,000. Ten years ago the average number of converts each year in that area was about 3,000; during the last three years the number of converts has been 40,000. And at the present time there are over 30,000 people in the diocese waiting to be prepared for baptism. That means that at least a hundred more trained teachers are needed immediately. And it takes ten years to train a teacher. There is no class of educated people among the Telugu Christians from which teachers can be drawn. The only way to create teachers is to take boys from the village schools when they are about ten years old, send them to the mission boarding-schools and keep them there till they are about eighteen years of age and then send them out as teachers under more experienced men. It is a long process and involves looking ahead and making provision for the future. A few years ago, when speaking at the annual

meeting of the Church Missionary Society in the Queen's Hall, London, I said with reference to the mass movement among the outcastes, "To-day it is a movement, to-morrow it will be an avalanche." And now the avalanche has come, and the missionary societies are faced with the serious question how to deal with it, a question which ought to have been considered and answered twenty years ago. But at any rate the situation ought to be faced without delay, or the Church in India will miss a glorious opportunity and drift on to disaster.

CHAPTER 6

THE ANGLO-INDIANS

ANGLO-INDIANS, or Eurasians as they were more correctly called until a few years ago, are the people of mixed European and Indian descent.

A large number, especially of the poorer members of the community, are descendants of the Portuguese, who formed unions regular and irregular with Indian women. Their names still bear witness to their Portuguese origin. On the Bombay side a considerable number of them came from the Portuguese territory of Goa and a few still have their homes there. When a rebellion broke out in Goa many years ago, Europeans in Bombay were astonished to find that their butlers were colonels or majors in the Portuguese army. But the majority of the Anglo-Indians in British territory are descendants of British soldiers or civilians who have in the past married or formed alliances with Indian women. A very few are of French or Italian origin.

They are not a large community. I have often read wild statements made in England about millions of Anglo-Indians. But the census of 1921 shows that there are now only about 120,000 in all India and Burma.

The British Government has always recognised that it has a responsibility for them, and has to a large extent provided religious ministrations for them

through its chaplains and made special provision for their education. The grants to the European schools, which are mainly filled by Anglo-Indians, are on a much more liberal scale than those given to Indian schools. In the early days of the Company schools were established, as I will show in a subsequent chapter, in all garrisons and superior factories, and later on many schools were established for Anglo-Indian and European children by private benefaction or public subscription, or by the railways and other companies that employed any considerable number of Anglo-Indians. The mining companies, for example, on the Kolar Gold-field in the Mysore State, maintain an excellent school for all the children of their European and Anglo-Indian work-people.

As a result of the co-operation between the Government, the different Churches, and the various companies, the Anglo-Indians are now one of the best educated communities in India up to the high school standard. In the Presidency of Madras, for instance, out of a population of 24,000 over 6,000 Anglo-Indian children were under instruction, according to the official Report of the Director of Public Instruction, in 1922. This would be a high percentage for a European country. But it must be remembered that Anglo-Indians cannot compete with Indians in manual labour. Their standard of living is higher and they need higher wages. They can only make a living, therefore, in occupations which require a fairly high standard of education. Comparatively few of them go on from the high schools to the Indian universities; but a considerable number go to England to complete their education.

The position of the community will be seriously affected by the recent political reforms. It was right and proper that a British government should feel a special responsibility for a people who were the result of the development of British trade and the establishment of British rule in India, and whose interests were bound up with the British Empire, whose loyalty could be depended upon without question and who could claim their sympathy from community of blood and religion. But it is a different matter now that political power is passing into the hands of Hindus and Muhammadams. An Indian and non-Christian government will see no reason why the Anglo-Indians should be given a position of special privilege. Hitherto Anglo-Indians have had special rates of pay on the railways and in government offices. And subordinate posts in the telegraph department have been almost an Anglo-Indian monopoly. All these privileges, together with the special grants for Anglo-Indian schools, will gradually or perhaps rapidly be swept away. At present European and Anglo-Indian education is a reserved subject and is not under the control of Indian ministers : but the cutting down of grants has already begun. In August last the Bombay Government announced its intention of reducing the grants to European schools by 25 per cent. Other Provinces will follow suit. This is a serious matter for the European schools. For many years past the majority of them throughout India have had a hard struggle to balance their budgets. Many have been in debt, some deeply in debt. Meanwhile the cost of education has been fast rising. In South India, certainly, the salaries of the teachers in the European schools were at least 20 per cent. below the proper

standard before the war; they are 30 per cent. or 40 per cent. below it to-day. It is difficult to see how it will be possible for the schools to be kept going on their present footing without very large subsidies from private sources.

This crisis that is threatening the position of the Anglo-Indian community needs careful consideration, and will necessitate, I think, a change of policy both on the part of the Anglo-Indian community itself and also of the Church of England.

In the first place the Anglo-Indians will have to reconsider their attitude towards the Indians. During the last forty years, since the starting of the Eurasian Association, in their efforts to identify themselves with Europeans, the Anglo-Indians have been steadily widening the gulf between themselves and the Indians. This has already affected their value and influence as missionaries.

Fifty or sixty years ago, before I went to India, a considerable number of Anglo-Indians were ordained and did excellent work for the missions of the Church of England, especially in South India. One of the most learned theologians in India, when I first went to Calcutta, was an Anglo-Indian. But during the last forty years very few Anglo-Indians have been ordained. They have constantly complained of this, and it has often been said that the failure to create an Anglo-Indian ministry is the fault of the bishops. But the truth is that so far as the missionary work of the Church is concerned, it has been entirely due to the Anglo-Indians themselves. As soon as they adopted an attitude of aloofness from the Indian people, the majority of them became useless for missionary work.

This attitude of aloofness will have still more disastrous results as regards their position in the State. They have a great opportunity of doing valuable work for India because of their European blood and natural affinity with European civilisation.

European employers of labour have often told me that they prefer to have Anglo-Indians as subordinates because they are more fitted to bear responsibility. And the mere fact that English is their vernacular would render them specially valuable in educational institutions as well as in merchants' offices. But before they can play their proper part in the development of India they must get their roots in the soil and identify their interests with those of the people of the land. It is doubtful, too, whether their present exclusiveness in the matter of education ought to be maintained. In Ceylon, I am informed, there are no special grants for European schools, so that the burghers, who correspond to the Anglo-Indians, are educated with the rest of the natives of Ceylon, and as a result occupy a better position in the island and exercise more influence on public affairs, than the Anglo-Indians do in India. If the same policy had been adopted in India it would have been much easier to provide for the education of the Anglo-Indians. The main difficulty in keeping up a European school has arisen from the small number of pupils and the expensiveness of the staff. The numbers could be increased largely by admitting Indian pupils, and the expense of the staff diminished by appointing a proportion of Indian teachers. But the Government rules will only allow a European school to contain 15 per cent. of Indian pupils, while the Anglo-Indian parents, especially in boarding-schools, strongly object

to the admission even of Indian Christians belonging to well-to-do families.

There is, I think, a great deal to be said for purely Christian schools, where the life and tone can be made truly Christian, based on Christian principles and consecrated by common prayer and worship. But it is difficult to base a truly Christian education on racial prejudice.

At Bishop's College, Calcutta, during the time I was principal we had among the students Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indians from all parts of India. The mixture of races was good for them all and most certainly the Anglo-Indians were none the worse, but much the better for their association with Indian Christians in the common life of the College.

At the same time I also think that the time has come when the Anglican Church should revise its educational policy in India in the light of the new conditions that are now being created.

For the last eighty years the educational activity of the Christian Church has been largely directed towards the education of Hindus and Muhammadans ; for the future it ought to be directed mainly towards the education of its own members, including the Anglo-Indians. It is a good work to educate Hindus and Muhammadans ; but it is absolutely essential to educate our own Christian people. To go on pursuing the old policy under modern conditions may lead to disaster. A well-educated, well-trained Christian community is the first thing needed if the Christian Church is to play the great part marked out for it in moulding the future life and thought of the Indian people.

And then the time has come when the necessity of

co-operation between the different Churches in the matter of education ought to be considered. The Roman Catholic Church would probably refuse to join in any scheme of co-operation ; but there is no reason why the Anglican Church should not heartily co-operate with the various Protestant churches. It is already doing so to a certain extent with very great advantage in the sphere of Indian education. The Women's Christian College in Madras is a striking example. It would have been impossible for any single Church to have established and maintained such a college, but by the co-operation of different churches in Great Britain and America a splendid college was established, even during the war, and has been a magnificent success. In the same way different churches are co-operating in the Christian College for men at Madras and in the establishment of a medical school for women at Vellore in South India, while the American Lutherans have recently closed their own College at Guntur and joined its forces with the Church Missionary Society at the Noble College, Masulipatam. In all these cases co-operation has made largely for economy and efficiency.

If a similar policy were adopted in the sphere of Anglo-Indian education it would go a long way towards solving the financial difficulty, and would, I am sure, enable the Churches to deal far more effectively with a problem which, though relatively small in extent, yet is of vital importance for the future progress and influence of Christianity in India.

CHAPTER 7

CHURCH AND STATE IN INDIA

THE position of the Church of England in India for the last hundred years has been more complex and anomalous than that of any other Church in Christendom. The status of the bishops is a good illustration of this. Of the thirteen bishops in the Province, seven are appointed by the Crown under Letters Patent, and paid either entirely by Government or partly by Government and partly by endowments ; the Bishop of Travancore and Cochin is appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury under what is known as the Jerusalem Act and is entirely paid by the Church Missionary Society. The Bishop of Chota Nagpur is appointed by the Metropolitan and entirely paid by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The Bishop of Tinnevelly and Madura is appointed by the Bishop of Madras with the approval of the Metropolitan and is paid partly by endowments and partly by grants from the two Societies, the S.P.G. and C.M.S. The Bishop of Dornakal is appointed by the Bishop of Madras with the approval of the Metropolitan and is entirely paid by endowments. The Bishop of Colombo is appointed by the Diocesan Synod and is paid by endowments.

The legal position is equally anomalous. The Church of England in India is supposed to be under the ecclesiastical laws of England, yet they are not

the laws which are in force to-day, but the laws which were in force a hundred years ago, and nobody knows exactly what they are or how they are to be administered. The Letters Patent provide for an appeal to Commissioners Delegate to be chosen from a body that has since passed away. The discipline of the clergy is to be exercised, according to the Letters Patent, under laws which are now obsolete and by means of officials who do not exist.

It is not to be wondered at that to the legal mind the whole position of the Church of England in India should appear utterly chaotic and impossible. But it is less shocking when viewed in the light of its history. The Church of England has grown up in India for the past 250 years in close connexion with our Indian Empire and has gradually adapted herself to its changing conditions. Many things, therefore, in the constitution of the Church, which from a purely legal or academic point of view appear to be intolerable, may fairly be regarded as the best available methods of dealing with a wholly exceptional set of circumstances. A very brief sketch of the past history of the Church may serve at any rate to explain the anomalies of the position, if not to justify them.

The establishment of the Church of England in India may be traced to the conviction of the Directors of the East India Company that it was their duty to supply religious ministrations to their own servants. The Directors were primarily traders and merchants ; but they were as a whole a body of good Christian men and their records show real concern about the moral and spiritual state of their employees. As soon as they began to trade with India, therefore, they took steps to supply religious ministrations to the

sailors on board their ships. They began in a modest way in the first half of the seventeenth century by ordering

"that prayers be said every morning and evening in every ship, and the whole Company called thereunto with diligent eyes, that none be wanting; so as all may jointly with reverence and humility pray unto Almighty God, to bless and preserve them from all dangers in this long and tedious voyage: for the better performance whereof we have delivered to each of the pursers a Bible, wherein is contained the Book of Common Prayer."

In 1607 they began to appoint chaplains for their ships at salaries varying from £50 to £100 a year according to their qualifications. From these humble beginnings the Church of England in India has gradually grown up in the course of the last 250 years.

Towards the middle of the seventeenth century the Company began to acquire land and establish factories in India and to send out chaplains to reside at their factories. The first resident chaplain was sent to Surat in 1644 and afterwards to Fort Saint George, Madras, in 1647, and from that time onwards chaplains were regularly appointed to the chief factories of the Company in India, at Madras, Cuddalore, Masulipatam, Surat and Calcutta. The main object of their appointment was to minister to the Company's servants, but in those early days the principle of religious neutrality had not yet been thought of and the Company were anxious that their chaplains should interest themselves in missionary work. In the Charter of 1698 there was a clause that

"the Chaplains in the factories are to study the vernacular languages, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be the servants or slaves of the same Company, or of their agents, in the Protestant religion."

The Company were also staunch upholders of the Protestant religion, which meant in those days the religion of the Church of England, and had no intention of adopting an attitude of neutrality towards the Roman Catholic Church. In one of their letters to their agent at Fort Saint George, Madras, they state that

"they had received informations of many evil practices exercised in the town of Madras by the French padres which are not to be tolerated where the Protestant religion is professed, their marching to the burial-place before the dead corpse with bell, book, candle and cross, their visiting such persons in their sickness who have professed the Protestant religion and endeavouring to seduce them to their idolatrous customs of praying to saints, etc., as also to baptise the children of Englishmen immediately on their coming into the world."

They strictly enjoin their agent not to allow any of these attacks on the Protestant faith.

Their hostility towards the Roman Church was largely due to political motives. Mr. Penny quotes a despatch from the Directors dated A.D. 1708 in which they state:

"We are apprehensive that notwithstanding you keep the priests at Madras under a pretty decorum, yet there is no reliance upon the Papist inhabitants in time of danger, and that we can never reckon upon the true strength of the place being at our disposal, unless the natives are educated in the Protestant religion." [1]

During the eighteenth century the Company gradually acquired vast territories in India: the number of their servants, civil and military, largely increased, and in consequence the establishment of chaplains in the service of the Company was considerably enlarged. Many churches were built and schools established during this century. Mr. Penny has successfully

[1] *The Church in Madras*, vol. i, p. 133.

vindicated the reputation of the Company in this respect from much misrepresentation.

"It is generally supposed," he said, "that the Company was absolutely hostile to missionary work in its dependencies. As a matter of fact the Company was most liberal to the S.P.C.K. in the grant of free passages for its missionaries all through the eighteenth century, as well as for goods of all kinds connected with their work. And according to the testimony of the missionaries themselves, many servants of the Company in the Presidency of Madras were most kind in their reception and treatment of them, most liberal and sympathetic in furthering their designs." [1]

During all this period the chaplains of the company were under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London.

Up to the end of the eighteenth century, then, the East India Company had no official connexion whatever with the missionaries and the Indian congregations to which they ministered. But a change took place in the early years of the nineteenth century. In 1793, when the question of the renewal of the Charter was discussed in the House of Commons, William Wilberforce and his friends attempted to commit the Company to a definitely missionary policy. They persuaded the House of Commons to resolve in committee not only that sufficient means of religious worship and instruction be provided for all persons of the Protestant Communion in the service or under the protection of the East India Company in Asia, but also that the Court of Directors should be empowered to send out schoolmasters and persons for the religious and moral improvement of the native inhabitants of the British Dominions in India. The Directors naturally took alarm at this, so all these resolutions in favour of turning a trading Company into a mission-

[1] *The Church in Madras*, vol. i, ch. ix, p. 181.

ary Society were omitted on the third reading of the Bill. When the time came for the Charter to be once more renewed in 1813, a fresh effort was made by William Wilberforce and his party to insert the clauses which had been rejected in 1793 and to commit the Company to the provision of a regular missionary establishment. At the same time they also advocated the appointment of a Bishop and three Archdeacons in order to supply more adequately the spiritual needs of the Company's Christian servants in India. Both these proposals led to violent controversies, and for three years before the time came for the renewing of the Charter there was a regular war of pamphlets and tracts. It is said that as many as 900 petitions were presented to the Houses of Parliament between March and July 1813 from various towns and parishes all over the country. Many of them simply asked that facilities should be given to missionaries who desired to go to India to communicate to its people useful knowledge and religious teaching ; but a large number supported the proposals of 1793 that the Company should itself appoint and pay for a Church establishment for the purpose of carrying on missionary work among the natives of India. It was unfortunate that the question of the appointment of a Bishop and Archdeacons should have been mixed up with this unwise attempt to force upon the Company the work of a missionary society. Not unnaturally this proposal was interpreted in the light of the obnoxious clauses of 1793. The result was that, though many of the most experienced of the Company's servants, such as Warren Hastings, Lord Teignmouth and William Cooper, stated before the Committee of the House of Commons that they saw no danger in the proposal,

at the same time both Warren Hastings and William Cooper deprecated the appointment of a Bishop just at that particular time. When the question was discussed at a meeting of the General Court of Proprietors of East Indian Stock, the proposal to appoint a Bishop and Archdeacons was violently opposed. One of the shareholders urged that these additions to the Church establishment would be a temptation to the chaplains to aspire to place, power and authority. He said he did not want to introduce into India "that sort of high vaulting ambition which he knew to be inseparable from the possession of Church dignity." Another shareholder objected that it would be impossible to keep Bishops and Archdeacons from interfering with the politics of India; while another took even stronger ground and asserted that he had never known a Bishop or an Archdeacon to forward religion![1] However, in the end the clauses for the appointment of a missionary establishment were rejected, but a clause was accepted enacting that facilities ought to be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India for the purpose of introducing among the natives of India useful knowledge and religious and moral improvement, and also clauses were passed for the appointment of a Bishop and three Archdeacons. To avoid the possibility of the Bishop interfering with the civil government it was specially provided that the Bishop's jurisdiction was to be limited by Letters Patent, and in order to make sure that the Bishop and the Archdeacons should not be wolves in sheep's clothing a further provision was made that they were not to take fees or perquisites or engage in trade. The Charter of 1813, therefore, inaugurated a new epoch

[1] *The Church in Madras*, vol. ii, ch. i, pp. 36–7.

in the relation of the Company to the missionaries and their congregations. Up to that time the Company had simply appointed chaplains to minister to their own servants and dependants in their factories or their territories in India ; but when effect was given to the legislation of 1813, India was made a diocese, Letters Patent were issued and all the legal paraphernalia of the English Church were introduced into India under the ægis of the Company. The Bishop was given authority by his Letters Patent not only over the chaplains appointed by the Company, but over all ministers and chaplains and all priests and deacons in Holy Orders of the United Church of England and Ireland resident in his diocese including the missionaries, and he was bound to exercise jurisdiction, spiritual and ecclesiastical, in his diocese " according to the ecclesiastical laws of our realm of England."

This produced a state of things which was undoubtedly anomalous. The Company through the bishops became officially connected with the missionaries and their Indian congregations, and the Indian congregations came under the yoke of the ecclesiastical laws of England. At the same time, anomalous though it was, the practical result was beneficial for all parties concerned. It was a good thing for the Indian congregations to feel that they were part of a world-wide communion. Their union with the English congregations helped to bring home to them the catholicity of the Church and prevented them from lapsing into a narrow nationalism. At the same time it was equally good for the European congregations to feel that the Indian Christians were fellow-members of the one Body of Christ and to be made to realise that the

Church is essentially a missionary body and cannot adopt a policy of religious neutrality. And it was good for the British Government in India to become visibly in the eyes of the people a Christian Government. During the last hundred years these beneficial results of what might seem to some people the mistake of appointing bishops under Letters Patent and of constituting India a diocese by Act of Parliament have increased rather than diminished, so that even if it was a mistake we may well ejaculate " O felix culpa ! "

The Church of England in India has gradually developed on these lines for the last hundred years. From a legal point of view its position may well appear to be intolerable. It is theoretically a branch of the Church of England and subject to the ecclesiastical laws of the Church of England. When India and Ceylon were formed into a diocese by Act of Parliament in 1813, it was intended that it should have precisely the same legal status as a diocese in England ; but the attempt to transplant the legal system of the Church of England into India was hopeless from the very first, and has become more hopeless as the Church has grown and developed in the course of the last century. At the present day two-thirds of the Church of England in India consist of Indian Christians mainly drawn from the lowest classes of Hindu society in remote village districts. The circumstances and the needs of these poor and illiterate Indian Christians, in the villages are wholly different from those of our Church people in England. To attempt to impose on them the ecclesiastical laws of the Church of England would be ludicrous in the extreme, and as a matter of fact no one has been foolish enough to

attempt it ; and even for the European section of the Church the legal system prescribed in the Letters Patent is an anachronism. The bishops are empowered to hold ecclesiastical courts for the administration of discipline, but the law they are bound to administer is a law which is now obsolete in England, and the procedure prescribed by the law is a procedure which no one in India understands and which cannot possibly be carried out. If, therefore, the Government were to insist that the laws of the Church of England should be strictly obeyed in India, the position would be intolerable. Happily, however, the legal system has been strongly tempered by common sense. The bishops of the Province have constituted a Court of Equity, and by the exercise of the paternal authority inherent in the Episcopate have adapted the system of the Church of England to the special needs and circumstances of the various sections of the Indian Church. The services of the Prayer Book are freely modified to render them suitable to the village congregations ; the discipline of the Church and the methods of administering it are in the same way adapted to the circumstances of the people. Throughout the Diocese of Dornakal each parish has its own Court for the administration of discipline. If any member of the congregation is guilty of any moral offence or disturbs the peace of the congregation he is summoned before the local Court and punished, or if he has committed a serious offence is recommended to the Bishop for excommunication. The whole procedure is modelled upon the ancient village Panchayats (committees of five) that have administered rough justice in Indian villages and managed the village affairs for centuries past, and so it works admirably.

In the same way Church Councils have been established with no legal authority or constitution, but resting entirely on the voluntary consent of clergy and laity. Neither the Diocesan Councils nor the Provincial Councils can legally enforce their decisions. If a diocese chooses to withdraw from the Provincial Council and ignore its decisions it can do so, and if any of the clergy choose to boycott the Diocesan Council they can do so. The penalty of their action would not be a legal one but a loss of the help and strength that comes from the fellowship of the whole body.

The division of the dioceses is another matter with regard to which the Church in India has been obliged to step over the legal fences by which it is theoretically restricted. The limits of the dioceses of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay are fixed by Acts of Parliament and cannot be altered except by Acts of Parliament. Originally the Bishop of Calcutta had jurisdiction not only over the whole of British India, but over the whole of Australia as well. Australia was cut off in 1836. Later on the dioceses of Madras, Bombay and Colombo were carved out of it by Acts of Parliament. And as the British possessions extended, and the Church developed, new dioceses were formed in the Punjab, the Central Provinces, Burma and Assam, which were not parts of British India when the diocese of Calcutta was created and so did not legally belong to it. Travancore and Cochin were native States, and though they could not be legally constituted a diocese, yet a bishop could be appointed for them by the Crown under the same Act under which a bishop is appointed in Jerusalem. On the other hand the bishoprics of Chota Nagpur, Tinnevelly and Dornakal have had to

be established by makeshift arrangements which are legally unsound, though practically they have worked well. The bishops have been consecrated by permission of the Crown, but their dioceses have been formed only by resolutions of the Episcopal Synod. Their strict legal position is that of assistant bishops, but by the resolutions of the Synod, which formed the dioceses, they are practically as independent as any other bishops in India.

These makeshifts are certainly awkward, but it cannot be said that they have caused any serious injury to the growth of the Church. All the bishoprics have been formed that were needed, and those that have been created simply by resolutions of the Episcopal Synod have had just as much independence and stability as those that have rested on a legal foundation. Like many other anomalous and irregular arrangements, the system has worked well because all parties have been anxious to make it work.

Thus the Church in India has been gradually built up and developed by methods that lie outside its legal system, through the exercise of the authority and jurisdiction of the bishops.

It has been said that this disregard of the law "debauches the consciences" of the bishops and clergy. Perhaps I am no fit judge on this point, as I worked the system as a bishop for twenty-three years without scruple. But as nobody wants the law to be strictly observed, neither the members of the Church, nor the Government of India, nor the Crown nor the Houses of Parliament, and as it has not been and could not have been observed for the last hundred years, I cannot think that anyone's conscience has been a bit the worse for treating it as a dead letter. Certainly in

India this concession to common sense has not resulted in the lawlessness and revolt against authority that we see among a certain section of the clergy in England.

But whatever may be the defects and dangers of the old system it has had one outstanding merit. It has at any rate satisfied the paramount need of maintaining racial unity within the Church. The Church of England has a special mission in India in this respect, which does not belong, in anything like the same degree, to any other Church or religious community. It contains within its fold about 75 per cent. of the European population in India, about half of the Anglo-Indians or Eurasians and about one-tenth of the Indian Christians. Roughly speaking, its numbers are about 75,000 Europeans, 50,000 Anglo-Indians and 500,000 Indians. The special mission of the Church of England, therefore, is to unite these different races as members of the one Body, and to assert the great principle that in Christ Jesus there is neither Jew nor Gentile, Greek nor barbarian, bond nor free, but that all races and all classes are one in Christ Jesus. This is a splendid mission and a magnificent ideal for which it is worth making very great sacrifices.

The peace and prosperity of India have in the past depended upon the harmonious co-operation of Europeans and Indians and will depend upon it no less in the future. To unite both races, therefore, as members of one Church in bonds of Christian fellowship is a great service to India as well as a much needed assertion of Christian principle. And a system that has enabled the Church of England in India to do that for over a hundred years ought not to be condemned simply because of its legal anomalies.

But, whatever may be the merits of the old system and

whatever difficulties may be created by its passing away, there is no doubt that it is doomed. The recent political changes, as they gradually develop, will soon make it an anachronism.

So long as the Government of India is essentially a British Government, resting on the authority of the British Parliament and the British people, the position of a branch of the Church of England established in India in virtue of Acts of Parliament, with dioceses defined by Acts of Parliament and bishops and archdeacons appointed by the Crown and paid for out of Indian revenues does not seem indefensible. But it will be a different matter when the Government of India becomes by successive stages an Indian Government resting on the authority of the Indian people.

Even under the existing state of things it is difficult to reconcile the position of the State-appointed bishops with the religious neutrality of the State. It is quite true that they are appointed and paid by the State to minister to the Christian servants of the Government, but at the same time by virtue of their position as bishops they are the heads of a Church of which the government servants form only a small minority; and as every Christian Church, so far as it is faithful to its commission, is bound to be a missionary body, the bishops cannot do their duty as bishops of the Church of Christ unless they take an active interest and an active part in the missionary work of the dioceses over which they rule.

But when the Reform Act of 1919 has fulfilled its purpose and the goal of complete self-government has been reached the position will be from every point of view an impossible one. A non-Christian Government cannot be expected to support bishops who are

appointed as the leaders of a Missionary Church ; and the Church itself could not submit to have its bishops in any way controlled by a non-Christian State.

At the same time there are also movements within the Church itself for self-government and independence. On the one hand the Indian Christian community during the last forty years has grown rapidly in numbers, education and influence ; and there is now an earnest desire among the educated class among them for a truly Indian Church, free from foreign control, developing on Indian lines and giving the Indian expression of Christian life and thought. At a meeting of the Provincial Assembly some years ago at Calcutta one of the leading Indian Christians of North India in the course of a discussion gave expression very emphatically to this desire, and it was clear that he represented the feeling of the whole body of Indian Christians present as delegates.

This desire for an independent Indian Church has been to a large extent stimulated by the wave of nationalism that swept over India after the victory of Japan over Russia and during the Great War ; but it is mainly due to a longing for unity, to a belief that the divisions of the Church are contrary to the mind of Christ, and to a conviction, which is profoundly true, that Christianity will not appeal to the educated classes in India so long as it is represented by a large number of foreign Churches and foreign missions.

And then, on the other hand, there has been for some time past a movement in the Church of England in India, mainly among the bishops and clergy, with a view to obtaining the same powers of self-government that are possessed by the Churches in Canada, South Africa and Australia. This would involve the repeal

of all Acts of Parliament relating to the Church of England in India and freedom for the Church to appoint its own bishops, with, of course, the corresponding duty to pay them. A draft constitution has already been prepared by a committee of bishops for a self-governing Church in India, in communion with the see of Canterbury but free from all foreign control, and also together with this constitution a Bill that it is proposed to put before the National Assembly of the Church of England with a view to its final presentation to the Houses of Parliament.

If this Bill ultimately becomes law the Acts of Parliament relating to the Church in India will be repealed, the Crown will cease to appoint bishops and archdeacons and will also cease to provide their salaries and allowances. It will only pay them, as it now pays the Roman Catholic bishops, for definite work done on behalf of the State. What is now known as the Church of England in India will then become the Church of the Province of India, Burma and Ceylon, with full power to establish its own synods, frame its own constitution, draw up its own laws and regulations, arrange its own forms of worship, appoint its own bishops and generally manage its own affairs. In South India it will be predominantly Indian, with a membership of 350,000 Indians, 12,000 Europeans and 12,000 Anglo-Indians. In North and West India the Europeans and Anglo-Indians will form a large proportion of the total membership.

The position of the Europeans, especially the British soldiers, is a real difficulty, which, I think, has not yet been sufficiently considered. The soldiers and their chaplains will all be members of the Church of England and ought to be under the authority of bishops

who at any rate understand the Church of England system. Hitherto they have been supervised by bishops who are members of the Church of England and of British origin. But in the future if the movement towards Church unity is successful many of the bishops will probably be Indians and some of them may not even be British subjects or men who have any practical knowledge of the laws, rules and customs of the Church of England.

It will probably be found necessary, therefore, to appoint a Chaplain-general in India to supervise the work of all the chaplains who minister to the civil and military servants of the Crown ; it is possible also that it will be thought desirable that the Chaplain-general should be in episcopal orders, as is now the case in England, and this will involve the withdrawal of the large majority of the Europeans from the Church of the Province. It will be a great pity if this proves to be inevitable ; at the same time I am very much afraid that this sacrifice of the great ideal of racial unity is the price that will have to be paid for the independence and self-government of the Church.

CHAPTER 8

CHURCH UNITY

IN England we speak of the reunion of the Churches. In India the more appropriate term is Christian unity. The problem there is not to restore a union that has been destroyed by schism ; but to create a unity that has never existed. With the exception of the ancient Syrian Church in Malabar up to the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, there has been no such thing as a united Christian Church in India. Indian Christianity everywhere, except in that one isolated district, has been cradled in disunion. When the Western Church brought Christianity to India, it brought also its unhappy divisions. At the present time there are ten separate Christian denominations specified in the Government census reports besides a large number of minor sects.

The prospect, therefore, of creating unity among the Churches of India is much more hopeful than that of restoring union in England. The Church at home has been rent asunder by strong internal forces, by conflicting opinions, passionate convictions, and opposing temperaments and ideals. The disunion of Indian Christianity has been for the most part imposed from without; it is a foreign importation, alien both to the spirit of Christianity and to the desires and interests of Indian Christians. An Indian minister remarked a few years ago, " I am a Baptist by geography, not

conviction." His father happened to live in an area where a Baptist mission was working when he was converted from Hinduism to Christianity, so he became a Baptist. If he had lived in another area, he would with equal satisfaction have become a Wesleyan or Presbyterian or a member of the Church of England. Conviction had nothing to do with his choice of a denomination. So whereas to an English Christian change of denomination is a real change of opinion and the giving up of cherished traditions and convictions, to an Indian Christian it is, for the most part, merely a change of external forms and customs. It is like the difference between a change of nationality and a change of domicile.

It is quite true that Indian Christians have been quick to learn from their teachers the spirit of faction and that there is often more rivalry and competition between Indian pastors and teachers of different denominations than there is between the foreign missionaries. I once asked one of the Indian priests in the diocese of Madras to adapt the Litany of the Prayer Book for the use of his village congregations. He did it admirably, splitting up the long suffrages into short sentences and translating the abstract into the concrete ; and when he came to the clause about heresy and schism he substituted for it :—" From going to the Baptist Chapel, good Lord deliver us." But for all that denominational differences sit very lightly on the majority of Indian Christians and the best of them strongly resent the fact that in defiance of the true spirit of Christianity the foreign Churches have brought to India a new source of division and have even separated those who while Hindus were united as members of the same caste or family.

There is also a powerful motive for unity in India, which does not act, though it ought to do so, with equal force in England. The Church in India is faced with a task of colossal magnitude and difficulty, and the more thoughtful and earnest Indian Christians of all denominations feel acutely the weakness caused by the divisions among them and the hopelessness of attempting to win India for Christ in their present state of disunion. The difference between the Church at home and the Church in India, Africa or China is very much the difference between an army on a peace footing, engaged largely in ceremonial parades, and an army on a campaign. The Church of England is mainly occupied in worship, and the subject that at the present moment awakens its interests, and I must add its passions, is the revision of the Prayer Book: while the Church of England in the mission field is compelled to realise that its main business is to conquer the world for its Master. It is natural, therefore, that the question of a united front should present itself as an imperative necessity in India, whereas in England it is looked upon as a matter of doubtful expediency.

The recent wave of nationalism, also, that has swept over India has had a powerful influence upon the educated class of Indian Christians and has helped to intensify the desire for an independent, united Church of India. They feel, on the one hand, that the Indian Church has its own special contribution to make to the life and thought of Christendom and they long to be free to make it. At the first session of the Provincial Assembly of the Church of England in India, when we were discussing the question of the independence of the Province, one of the leading Indian

Christians of North India exclaimed in impassioned tones, " Give us a Church of India and we will live and die for it." And that expressed the feelings of thousands of Indian Christians in north and south alike. They long for a Church that may be truly Indian in worship, thought and life. They constantly use the phrase " the Indian expression of Christianity," and it expresses an idea that makes a strong appeal to their deepest feelings both as patriots and as Christians.

On the other hand they feel, and rightly feel, that Christianity will never win its way among the educated class of Hindus so long as it comes to them in a foreign dress, embodied in foreign Churches and wearing the appearance of a foreign religion. The foreign missionary societies can lay the foundations and prepare the material for the building up of an Indian Church, but they cannot accomplish the difficult work of converting the educated classes and higher castes of Hindu society to faith in Christ.

In India, therefore, there are powerful forces behind the movement towards Christian unity. In England it is mainly a movement of leaders ; in India, on the contrary, it is a popular movement and the leaders are being urged forward, sometimes against their will, by a public opinion which they cannot resist. In South India, where the movement has taken definite shape, it did not begin with the foreign missionaries, who have hitherto been the leaders of the Churches, but with the Indian Christians. In May 1917 a body of Indian pastors of different denominations were gathered together for a week's conference and prayer at Tranquebar, south of Madras, the head-quarters of the old Danish mission in the eighteenth century.

They devoted two days to the subject of unity and a resolution in favour of unity was agreed upon by the members of the Anglican Church who were present and those of the South India United Church, which is a federation of Presbyterian and Congregational Churches in South India and Ceylon.

The resolution stated their belief that union is the will of God and the teaching of Scripture; and expressed their conviction that the present critical situation in India called them to mourn their past divisions and turn to Jesus Christ to seek in Him the unity of the body expressed in one visible Church. They declared :—

"We face together the titanic task of the winning of India for Christ—one fifth of the human race. Yet confronted by such an overwhelming responsibility we find ourselves rendered weak and relatively impotent by our unhappy divisions, for which we are not responsible, and which have been, as it were, imposed upon us from without, divisions which we did not create and which we do not desire to perpetuate."

The basis which they proposed, on which to start negotiations for unity, was practically identical with that put forward by the Lambeth Conference of 1888 and repeated in a modified form by the Lambeth Conference of 1920, namely :—

(1) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as containing all things necessary to salvation.
(2) The Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed.
(3) The two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself—Baptism and the Lord's Supper.
(4) The historic Episcopate in a constitutional form, "on the primitive, simple, apostolic model."

This resolution of the Tranquebar Conference was

sent to the General Assembly of the South India United Church and to the Episcopal Synod of the Church of England in India. Both Churches welcomed the proposals contained in the resolution and appointed committees to discuss jointly a possible basis of unity, and the first conference of the two committees was held at Bangalore in March 1920, shortly before the meeting of the Lambeth Conference, and a general statement was drawn up of the matters on which both sides were in agreement following the lines of the Tranquebar resolution.

Since the Lambeth Conference three other conferences between the two committees have taken place and considerable advance has been made towards further agreement on some of the most difficult questions involved in any definite scheme of organic unity. In India as in England the question of the status of the existing ministers in the United Church of the future has been the crux of the negotiations. The latest and the most hopeful suggestion arrived at by the Conference at its session in April 1923 is that when union is effected there shall be " a mutual commissioning of ministers." This proposal is so important as opening out a solution of difficulties that have seemed almost insoluble not only in India but also in England and other parts of the world, that at the risk of wearying my readers with detail I will give it in the words of the resolution. The substantive part runs as follows :—

" The ministers of both Churches would take part in such a service. It would be prefaced by a statement that there was no repudiation of their former ministries, but that it was an act of love and fellowship in which authority was given for the wider ministry of the Word and Sacraments. It would include the

laying on of hands and a prayer for the anointing of the Holy Spirit.

"It is proposed that the bishops and the clergy of the Anglican Church be commissioned by certain representative presbyters (ordained ministers) of the South India United Church; and the ministers of the S.I.U.C. by a bishop and certain representative ministers (members of the order of the priesthood) of the Anglican Church. The words of the prayer would be read by each of these groups, and they would then lay their hands on the heads of those of the other Church who were to be commissioned. This would be the last act of the Churches as separate bodies."

Those of my readers who have been interested in the progress of the reunion question in England will recognise in this proposal a very close agreement with the suggestions made in the Lambeth Conference of 1920. If the proposal is accepted in India it may pave the way for a settlement of this difficult question in Great Britain; but it will certainly bring very near the establishment in India of a united Church, which will play a great part in the reconstruction of Indian society, the enrichment of Christian life and thought and the extension throughout India and the Eastern world of the Kingdom of God.

PART III
EDUCATION

CHAPTER 9

THE POLICY OF THE BRITISH

AT the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the East India Company had acquired extensive territorial possessions and become the paramount power in India, one of the most important and difficult problems that confronted it was that of Education. With sovereignty came a sense of responsibility. Up to the latter part of the eighteenth century the Company had been simply a trading corporation intent only on establishing and extending trade. Profits and dividends were the main consideration. But when, by what Lord Curzon described in one of his speeches as " the inscrutable decrees of Providence," the trading Company became the rulers of an Empire it became conscious of a duty towards the people of India. Happily the ideal of duty coincided with the interests of trade. There was no need to face the painful necessity of choosing between the two. To establish law and order, to prevent India from lapsing into anarchy and chaos on the break-up of the Moghul Empire, to make the people under its rule happy and prosperous by just and wise administration were as necessary to the prosperity of trade as to the welfare of its subjects. In the same way to improve the characters and develop the intelligence of the people by a sound and widely diffused system of education were felt to be not only a duty but a good investment. As Sir Thomas Munro

pointed out to the Court of Directors in 1826, the modest grant of Rs 50,000 (£5,000) which he asked for to carry out his scheme of education for the Madras Presidency "would be amply repaid by the improvement of the country."

When the Government began seriously to consider the question of education they found that an extensive system was already in existence. The official enquiries made during the first quarter of the nineteenth century showed that in the two provinces of Bengal and Madras, at any rate, there were a large number of schools and places of learning not only in the towns but also in the villages. In the Report on Education published by the Government in 1835 it was stated that there were as many as 100,000 schools in Bengal and Behar at that time. The population of the two provinces was estimated at about 40,000,000; so that, if these estimates were correct, there was, as the Report says, "a village school for every 400 persons."

The official information about the state of education in the Madras Presidency was published earlier. In 1822 the Governor, Sir Thomas Munro, one of the ablest and most statesmanlike of the Company's servants, called the attention of the Court of Directors to the importance of the subject and requested the Collectors to furnish lists of schools in their respective districts, the nature of education given in them, the number of scholars in each and other matters of interest. The reports of the Collectors "showed an aggregate of 12,498 schools containing 188,650 scholars, of whom 184,110 were males and 4,540 females." The small number of female scholars is not surprising in view of the strong prejudice existing at that time

in Hindu and Muhammadan society against the education of women. It is rather surprising that there were so many. Sir Thomas Munro says in his minute that reading and writing were unknown to the women of Brahmans and Hindus in general in South India, "because the knowledge of them is prohibited and regarded as unbecoming the modesty of the sex and fit only for public dancers." Mr. Adam says that the same prejudice against women's education also existed in Bengal,

"A superstitious feeling," he says, "is alleged to exist in the majority of Hindu families, principally cherished by the women and not discouraged by the men, that a girl taught to write and read will shortly after marriage become a widow, an event which is regarded as nearly the worst misfortune that can befall the sex; and the belief is also generally entertained in native society that intrigue is facilitated by a knowledge of letters on the part of females."

This latter belief was bluntly expressed about thirty years ago by an old-fashioned native Prince in Central India when the Resident urged him to start a girls' school. "No, no," was the reply, "women are bad enough as it is; if you educate them they will become ten times worse." At the same time the landowners in Bengal often had their daughters secretly taught to read and write, so that they might be able in the event of becoming widows, to manage their deceased husbands' estates. So it sometimes happened that a husband was deceived and, having married a girl on the understanding that she had the requisite ignorance, found to his dismay that she had an amount of knowledge which was likely to bring about his own speedy death. One practical reason given for the prejudice against female education among the upper classes is

entirely creditable to the women. It was said that as women of rank led far less dissipated lives than the men they were generally much better fitted when educated to manage the family estates and so " were regarded as an intolerable nuisance by the harpies who preyed on their husbands."

These prejudices have almost entirely disappeared in modern times, so that whereas in 1821 the female students formed less than one-fortieth of the total number of scholars in the Madras Presidency, in 1921 they numbered one-eighth.

When we turn from female education to the statistics for education as a whole, the difference between 1821 and 1921 is less marked.

As the entire population of the Madras Presidency in 1821 was estimated at about 12,850,000, there was approximately one school to every thousand of the population, and the scholars represented about one in every sixty-five. If we compare this estimate with the official returns in the Government Census for the Madras Presidency a hundred years later we find that the proportion of schools to population in 1921 was about the same as in 1821, rather less than one to a thousand ; on the other hand the proportion of the scholars to the population was far larger—one in twenty-four as compared with one in sixty-five. But the difference in the number of scholars between 1821 and 1921 may not be as great as these statistics seem to indicate. Before the Government Census had been instituted, it was easier to get reliable information as to the number of schools in a district than it was to estimate the number of persons under instruction. A large number of children in those days received private instruction at home without going to

school. In one area of the Bengal Presidency, for example, the Report published in 1836 shows that, whereas the total number of pupils in the elementary schools of all description amounted to only 262, there were about 2,000 children receiving instruction at home.[1]

It would be rash, therefore, to assume that the proportion of persons under instruction to the population was anything like three times or even twice as large in 1921 as it was in 1821. But education was certainly confined far more to the higher castes a hundred years ago than it is now, though it is interesting to note that even in 1830 in some of the districts of Bengal, there were a small number of pupils from quite low castes, which, in former years, " the long established usages of the country would have either discouraged or altogether excluded from a knowledge of letters." [2]

The education given in the village schools a hundred years ago was very elementary. The children went to school when they were about five years old and left when they were about ten. They learnt to read and write, to do a little arithmetic, to keep accounts and to write simple letters. All the instruction was, of course, given in the vernacular ; but in some parts of the Madras Presidency the vernacular literature was in verse and written in dialects, which the mass of the people could not understand, so that as one of the Collectors reported with regard to the Telugu and Canarese Schools in his district, " few teachers can explain, and still fewer scholars understand, the

[1] *Second Report on the State of Education in Bengal District of Rajshahi*, published 1836, Calcutta, p. 68.

[2] *Third Report on the State of Education in Bengal*, p. 28.

purport of the numerous books they thus learn to repeat from memory." The following account of the ordinary routine and discipline of the village schools in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency a hundred years ago is probably typical of this class of schools generally throughout South India.

"The education of the Hindu youths generally commences when they are five years old; on reaching this age the masters and scholars of the school to which the boy is sent are invited to the house of his parents; the whole are seated in a circle round an image of Gunasee" (the god of wisdom and good luck) "and the child to be initiated is placed exactly opposite to it. The schoolmaster sitting by his side, after having burnt incense and presented offerings, causes the child to repeat a prayer to Gunasee, entreating wisdom. He then guides the child to write with its finger in rice the mystic names of the deity and is dismissed with a present from the parents according to their ability. The child next morning commences the great work of his education. . . . The internal routine of duty for each day will be found, with very few exceptions and little variation, the same in all the schools. The hour generally for opening the school is six o'clock; the first child that enters has the name of Saraswatee, or the goddess of learning, written on the palm of his hand as a sign of honour; and on the hand of the second a cypher is written to show that he is worthy neither of praise nor censure; the third scholar receives a gentle stripe; the fourth two; and every succeeding scholar that comes an additional one. This custom, as well as the punishment in native schools, seems of a severe kind. The idle scholar is flogged and often suspended by both hands and a pulley from the roof, or obliged to kneel down and rise incessantly, which is a most painful and fatiguing, but perhaps a healthy mode of punishment."

Whatever we may think of this system of discipline from a Montessori point of view, we should hesitate to say, with the collector who furnishes this interesting report, that the scholar who is subject to it for five years "acquires no moral impressions." He must certainly have learnt that it is bad to be unpunctual

and still worse to be idle. But beyond that he had impressed upon his mind from the beginning of his school days the dignity of knowledge and the essential connection between learning and religion. And though the teaching was doubtless unscientific and mechanical the course of instruction was by no means to be despised. Mr. Adam, in his second report on the state of education in Bengal, says that,

"in the matter of instruction there are some grounds for commendation, for the course I have described has a direct practical tendency, and, if it were taught in all its parts, is well adapted to qualify the scholar for engaging in the actual business of native society. My recollections of the village schools in Scotland do not enable me to pronounce that the instruction given in them has a more direct bearing upon the daily interests of life than that which I find given or proferred in the humbler village schools of Bengal." [1]

There is one feature about these village schools which deserves notice, in view of the difficulty of extending education under the modern system on financial grounds, and that is the fact that they were managed and paid for by the people themselves. The method of payment varied: some teachers received monthly wages, generally paid by one person; others monthly fees from each scholar; others perquisites of various kinds. The average income of a teacher in Bengal amounted to about four rupees twelve annas (about nine shillings) a month, which was about the same as the income of subordinate Government officials with corresponding intellectual and social qualifications. In a few cases teachers gave their services gratuitously, and in several cases teachers admitted poor students to their schools without fees.

[1] *Second Report*, p. 21.

The Muhammadans were far behind the Hindus in the matter of education. In Bengal there were no elementary schools in which education was given in Urdu, the vernacular of the Muhammadan community. But there were a certain number of Persian and Arabic Schools, and in the Persian schools the education was on the whole superior to that given in the Hindu schools and the teachers intellectually of a higher grade and better paid.

In addition to these elementary schools there were also many institutions of Hindu, and a few of Muhammadan, learning. The Hindu institutions were distinctly religious in character. Their object was to promote the study of the Hindu scriptures (*Shastras*). Only members of the higher castes (the twice-born) were admitted. The teachers not only received no fees but provided board and lodging for their students without payment. The course of studies extended over from fifteen to twenty years and the hours of study were severe. The subjects of study were logic, grammar, law, astronomy, philosophy, mythology, and ritual. The students committed to memory text after text and stanza after stanza until they were fully qualified to superintend every ceremony and perform every rite required of a Brahman priest.

These institutions represented the old Hindu ideal of learning. They were narrow and exclusive and hopelessly out of touch with the new life that was coming into India at the beginning of the nineteenth century under British rule. And yet there was much that was very fine about them and a spirit that was well worth preserving. The ideal that they attempted to embody is seen in all its severity in the Laws of

Manu. The student was commanded not only to abstain from grosser acts of sensual enjoyment, but from everything in the nature of enjoyment. He was forbidden to eat honey or meat. He was not to use perfumes or wreaths of flowers, not to anoint his limbs, not to put black powder round his eyes, not to wear sandals, not to carry an umbrella. He was never to pronounce the name of his teacher, not to mimic his walk, speech or manner. He was never to answer his teacher's orders. In the presence of his teacher he was always to eat less and wear a coarser garment. " By censuring his teacher, though justly," says Manu, " he will be born an ass ; by falsely defaming him a dog ; by using his goods without leave a small worm ; by envying his merit a reptile." Knowledge was a means of spiritual perfection, and it could only be attained by severe self-discipline and by purity of heart and life.

The Muhammadan seats of learning were less spiritual. They aimed chiefly at giving instruction in Persian and Arabic and in Muhammadan law to enable the student to earn a living. They were also far less numerous than the Hindu colleges. In the city of Calcutta, for example, there are said to have been 28 schools of Hindu learning in 1818, while in the district south of Calcutta, known as the 24 Pergunnahs, there were 190. But at that time there is no record of more than one school of Muhammadan learning in Calcutta and in the surrounding districts, and that was probably the one endowed by Warren Hastings and superintended by Government.

The main question that the Court of Directors had to consider when they first realised the duty of educat-

ing their subjects in India was their attitude towards this ancient, indigenous system of education. They could not ignore it and they could not, even if they wished to do so, at once sweep it away. But they could either make it the foundation of their own educational system and endeavour to improve and develop it, or they could set up another independent system of their own, which would in course of time gradually kill it.

The question was not entirely or even primarily an educational one, and it was decided at first mainly on political grounds. The policy of the Company was one of strict non-interference with the religion and institutions of the people. Both the Court of Directors at home and their servants in India were fully alive to the precariousness of the Company's position and the danger of arousing any fear or suspicion that they intended to adopt the fatal policy of Aurungzeb and interfere with the customs of the people. In the case of education the fact that the existing schools, both Hindu and Muhammadan, were closely connected with religion, made it all the more desirable strictly to adhere to this fundamental principle of government. Accordingly in the minute written in 1822 on the subject of the state of education in the Madras Presidency Sir Thomas Munro stated emphatically:

"It is not my intention to recommend any interference whatever in the native schools. Everything of this kind ought to be carefully avoided, and the people should be left to manage their schools in their own way. All that we ought to do is to facilitate the operations of these schools by restoring any funds that have been diverted from them, and perhaps granting additional ones where it may appear advisable."

The Court of Directors entirely approved and

replied that " it was proper to caution the Collectors against exciting any fears in the people that their freedom of choice in matters of education would be interfered with."

At the same time they added that " it would be equally wrong to fortify them in the absurd opinion that their own rude institutions of education were so perfect as not to admit of improvement." [1]

The proposals made by Sir Thomas Munro for the improvement of education in the Madras Presidency were to establish a training school in Madras for teachers to be employed in Government schools, and the foundation of a limited number of schools in each collectorate. These proposals were accepted and a Committee of Public Instruction was organised to carry out the scheme. A training school for teachers was first established at Madras and ultimately about a hundred schools were started in the different collectorates. Elementary teaching in English was given in the two principal schools of each collectorate, one for Hindus and one for Muhammadans ; but in the lower grade schools all the instruction was given in the vernacular, and all the schools were entirely under Indian superintendence.[2]

This general policy was undoubtedly a sound one. It was of the utmost importance to secure the hearty co-operation of the people in any scheme of education, and the mere fact that the people themselves managed and paid for the existing system was a strong point in its favour. The system may have been rude and

[1] Minute of Sir Thomas Munro, 1826.

[2] *The History of Education in the Madras Presidency*, by S. Satthianedhan, M.A., LL.B.

inefficient, but it was popular and self-supporting.

At the same time from a purely educational point of view it was wise to preserve the old system and build upon the traditions of the past. Education does not consist in simply pouring in correct information, but in developing body, soul and spirit. Even in its elementary forms it involves the training of the character as well as of the intellect, and for the training of character a national system of education must be closely related to the history and life of a people. It is impossible to educate a nation in the true sense of the word by ignoring its traditions and leaving out of account its characteristic modes of thought and feeling. It was, therefore, far more likely that a good system of education would be ultimately evolved if the people were allowed and encouraged to manage and pay for their own schools, to make their own experiments and gradually adapt their educational methods to their own needs and ideas, than if a body of foreign rulers, who knew little about the history, ideas and feelings of the people, undertook to frame a system of education for them. And there was a great deal in the old indigenous institutions that was well worth preserving and which could not be preserved in any system that the Government could create and maintain.

Mr. W. Adam, who under the orders of Government made a very careful and thorough enquiry into the state of education in Bengal, in his third report published in 1838 stated his opinion that, so far as his information enabled him to judge,

> "existing native institutions from the highest to the lowest, of all kind of classes, were the fittest means to be employed for raising and improving the characters of the people,"

and that to employ these institutions for such a purpose

"would be the simplest, the safest, the most popular, the most economical and the most effectual plan for giving that stimulus to the native mind which it needs on the subject of education and for eliciting the exertions of the natives themselves for their own improvement, without which all other means must be unavailing."

He was strongly opposed to taking education out of the hands of the people and placing it in the hands of Government superintendents, on the ground that,

"if Government does everything for the people, the people will not very soon learn to do much for themselves. They will remain much longer in a state of pupilage than if they are encouraged to put forth their own energies. Such a source is the more objectionable because it is the substitution of a bad for a good habit, almost all the common or vernacular education received throughout the country being at present paid for. Government should do nothing to supersede the exertions of the people for their own benefit, but should rather endeavour to supply what is deficient in the native systems, to improve what is imperfect, and to extend to all what is at present confined to a few."

Mr. Adam in his final report propounded a detailed and carefully thought out scheme for the improvement and extension of education in Bengal by Government aid. The main principles on which his scheme was based were :

(1) That existing native institutions should be employed as the instruments of national education.

(2) That the management and support of schools and colleges should be left as far as possible in the hands of the people themselves and of voluntary agencies.

(3) That the medium of instruction should be the vernaculars of the country.

(4) That English should be taught in the higher grade schools as a foreign language, but not made the medium of instruction.

(5) That every effort should be made to enlist the co-operation of the learned classes and the spiritual leaders of the people in the promotion of sound learning and higher education.

As a result of his careful enquiries into the state of education Mr. Adam had, he says, acquired

> " the inwrought conviction of the unparalleled degradation of the native population and the large unemployed resources existing in the country applicable to the improvement of their conditions and character."

On the whole this policy was a sound one, and the educational development of the last hundred years would have proceeded on much healthier lines if its fundamental principles had been adhered to. But the patient enquiries, accurate knowledge and sound judgment of men like Mr. Adam and Sir Thomas Munro had no chance against the influence of Ram Mohun Roy, an able Bengali reformer, and the brilliant rhetoric of Lord Macaulay. The famous minute of Macaulay, published in 1835, which finally turned the scale against what were called the Orientalists, has often been regarded as a Magna Charta of Indian Education. It would be more reasonable, I think, to describe it as its evil genius. It abounded in fallacies and was based on ignorance. It switched off the educational policy of Government to wrong lines and has been responsible for a great deal of the political trouble of the last forty years. The first fatal vice of the minute was the supreme contempt that it poured

out upon the whole literature of India. All that Macaulay could see in it was

> " history which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move the laughter in girls at an English boarding school ; history abounding with kings thirty-feet high, and reigns thirty thousand years long ; and geography, made of seas of treacle and seas of butter."

It is as though a critic were to condemn the Bible offhand as utterly useless for all purposes of education because of the age of Methuselah, the tower of Babel, and Jonah in the belly of a fish. The age-long quest after truth, the profound speculations on the mysteries of the universe and human life, the earnest seeking after God, the high ideals of womanhood, the stories of sages and heroes that have profoundly stirred the hearts of millions in every part of India for so many centuries, the religious poetry with its yearning for communion with God and profound faith in the love of God ; all this is set aside as though it were simply a matter for ridicule and fit only for the waste-paper basket. And yet it represented the intellectual and spiritual heritage of India, a heritage of which the peoples of India are justly proud.

To set about establishing a system of national education in this spirit of crude contempt for all that was great and good in Indian literature and Indian thought was to court failure.

And then another almost equally serious defect in Macaulay's minute was his contempt for the Indian vernaculars. He assumes that Indians cannot be educated in their mother tongues and that the only choice was between English and some other foreign language. On these assumptions it was not difficult to uphold the superiority of English. And no doubt it is true that

in India English is the key of knowledge, just as Latin was to Europe in the Middle Ages. The claims that Macaulay makes for it, when he says that " whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations," are just and true. It was undoubtedly an enormous boon to India to put it in possession of this key to the best thought and knowledge of the world.

But the Orientalists did not dispute the value of a knowledge of English. They assumed that in the higher grade schools English would be taught. As a matter of fact a considerable number of such schools already existed both in Bengal and in the Madras Presidency before Mr. Adam wrote his reports or Lord Macaulay wrote his minute. The question at issue was not whether the English language should or should not be taught, but whether English or the vernaculars should be the medium of instruction. On that question I believe that the Orientalists were right and Macaulay was wrong. The assumption that the peoples of India could not be taught the history, science and philosophy of the West in their own vernaculars seems to me wholly unfounded. These subjects have been taught to the people of Japan in Japanese, and there is no reason whatever why they should not have been taught to Indians in their own vernaculars.

It is often urged as an objection to the use of Indian vernaculars for teaching science, that they have no scientific terminology. But the same was true of every European language a few centuries ago. Nearly the whole of our scientific terminology in English is borrowed from Latin and Greek. In the same way

the Indian vernaculars could borrow from English. It is simply a matter of time and trouble. The Bible has been translated into all the chief vernaculars of India and Christian teaching has been given in those same vernaculars for the last hundred years. And it is surely absurd to say that the languages of India, which have been able to express the subtle speculations of Indian philosophers and the fervid devotion of Indian poets for three thousand years, could not also express the scientific ideas of the Western world. If necessary they could borrow technical terms from Latin and Greek in precisely the same way as the English language has done.

But unfortunately the question was ultimately decided not on educational principles, but on grounds of practical and administrative convenience. To build up a system of higher education through the vernaculars would have taken time. A few Indians would have had first to acquire a good knowledge of English and then translate English books into the various vernaculars, and later on write original works of their own. Undoubtedly the quickest method of imparting Western knowledge was to impart it through the medium of English.

And for the English teachers themselves it was obviously the line of least resistance. If every Englishman who taught in an Indian school or an Indian college had been required to gain a thorough knowledge of an Indian vernacular before beginning his work, it would have excluded a considerable number of candidates from the Indian educational service altogether, and for all who survived it would have involved a delay of several years before they were competent to set about the actual business of teaching.

But both the Government and the Indians themselves were in a hurry. The Government wanted educated subordinates, who could understand English, and the Indians wanted Government posts; neither were willing to wait for a generation. Lord Macaulay quotes a petition presented to the Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal by several students of the Sanskrit College. "They stated that they had studied in the college ten or twelve years; that they had made themselves acquainted with Hindu literature and science; that they had received certificates of proficiency," and that notwithstanding all this they could not earn a living. So the Arabic and Sanskrit schools were almost empty and the few scholars that attended them had to be given scholarships, while the English schools were full and students paid to attend them. In the same way Arabic and Sanskrit books found no purchasers, while the School-book Society of Calcutta sold seven or eight thousand English volumes every year and realised a profit of 30 per cent. on its outlay.

These facts, combined with the urgent need of English-speaking Indian officials, constituted a strong case for the rapid spread of a knowledge of English, and this involved, under the circumstances that existed a hundred years ago, that the teaching should be given mainly by Englishmen, with English as the medium of instruction. In addition to these considerations there was also the practical difficulty created by the multiplicity and overlapping of vernaculars. In the cities, such as Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, which were naturally the chief centres of higher education in Western learning, many different vernaculars were spoken. In the case of elementary education it was possible to meet this difficulty by multiplying schools.

For financial reasons the same solution of the problem would not have been possible in the sphere of higher education. So the stars in their courses fought against Mr. Adam and his fellow Orientalists; and Lord Macaulay and the Westerners carried the day. It was perhaps inevitable, but none the less a disaster. In a minute written in 1851 Mr. Thomas, a member of the Madras Government, criticising a proposal made by the Governor for the extension of English education, makes a final plea for vernacular education. "It appears to me," he says, "that the attempt to educate and enlighten a native through a foreign language, is one opposed to the experience of all times and countries." He urges strongly that upon the broad basis of vernacular education alone could the superstructure of a high standard of refined education be raised and the superior acquirements of the few very highly educated be made to tell upon and influence society. But it was of no use. The tide had set in too strongly in the opposite direction, and by that time English was firmly established as the medium of instruction for the higher education of the country.

CHAPTER 10

ENGLISH EDUCATION

AS I look back on my own experience of the results of the method finally adopted by the Government of India for the higher education of the country, I can thoroughly sympathise with the defeated party in the memorable controversy which was brought to an end by Lord Macaulay's minute.

I would not for a moment belittle the blessings that have accrued to India through the system of education finally adopted. It has spread a knowledge of Western thought and science, of English literature and of English political and social life, throughout the length and breadth of the land. It has played the chief part in the creation of Modern India. At the latter part of the eighteenth century the civilisation of India was an arrested development. Centuries of despotic rule, and the constant wars that followed on the break up of the Moghul Empire had impoverished the people economically and demoralised their characters. In the sphere of intellectual life the highest thought of India had lost itself in the arid sands of a barren metaphysic ; in the sphere of social life all progress had been stayed by the iron tyranny of the most rigid caste system that the world has ever known ; in the sphere of politics all ideals of freedom and independence had been crushed by the despotism of the Muhammadan conquerors ; in the sphere of religion, the sphere in

which the genius of India for three thousand years had found its truest expression, the noble effort which Buddha had made to exalt the ideal of conduct above that of ritual, asceticism and philosphical speculation, had long spent its force and after a thousand years had been absorbed in the quagmire of modern Hinduism with its pantheon of two million deities, its primitive animism and its gross, immoral forms of worship. The key of knowledge given by the educational system of the British Government opened the door to the thought, the politics, the religion of the Western world and brought to India new knowledge and the possibility of a new life.

But these blessings have been bought at a great cost, and it is open to question whether they could not have been purchased more slowly, but without the sacrifice of so much that was of power and value for the future growth of Indian thought and society.

In the first place, from a purely educational point of view, the fact that English is the medium of instruction for all the higher education of the country, not only in the universities and colleges, but also in the upper classes of the high schools, has placed a tremendous burden on the large majority of the students which they are quite unfitted to bear. The few abler students at the top have been able to bear the burden and have become masters of the English language, capable of thinking, speaking and writing freely in it. Many Indians are able to hold their own with the statesmen of the West; a smaller number have become distinguished scientists and a considerable number have become able lawyers and administrators. But at the most these form a small minority of the total number

of the English-educated Indians. It is no exaggeration to say that at least 60 per cent. of the students at the various universities ought not to be there at all. They have not got a sufficient mastery of English to warrant their being taught through it advanced subjects. The double burden of mastering their subjects and thinking in a foreign language is far too great a strain on them. It crushes their individuality and power of independent thought and fosters and intensifies one conspicuous fault of Indian mentality, an excessive reliance on the memory. During the time that I was Superior of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta we had a hostel for Hindu university students, where between forty and fifty of them lived, attending either the Presidency College or some of the other leading colleges in the northern quarter of the city. For some weeks before the university examinations it was pathetic to go round the hostel and see and hear them preparing for the great ordeal. In each room sat a student Indian fashion on a chair with his legs tucked under him, his body swaying to and fro, his eyes fixed on a notebook, as he repeated over and over again in a droning chant and committed to memory the abstract of a textbook given in his college lectures. A special word was invented for this process : " to by-heart." It denoted a pitiable travesty of education.

And this vicious system demoralised not only the students but the teachers as well. Imagine the plight of an able tutor with high ideals of education confronted with a class of students, of whom 60 per cent. have a very imperfect knowledge of English and are incapable of studying the subject he has to teach. If he lectures in a reasonable way and aims at helping the students to think for themselves 60 per cent.

will be utterly unable to follow him or understand what he tries to teach and in due course will go off to another college. If he lectures down to the level of the large majority of his class he fails to educate the best of his pupils. Many of the tutors that I knew in Calcutta avowedly gave up the attempt to educate and aimed only at enabling as many of their pupils as possible to scrape through the examinations. First class men from Oxford resigned themselves to dictating slowly paraphrases of Milton and Shelley and spelling the long words as they went along. One eminent professor of philosophy openly told his pupils not to read their textbooks, but to get up by heart the notes that he dictated. Another English professor, who was a member of the University Senate and principal of a large college, described to me how he used to study carefully the papers that had been set in philosophy during the last few years, and devote his lectures entirely to supplying answers to the kind of questions which he guessed were likely to be asked on the next occasion. He was quite surprised when I suggested that from an educational standpoint this was an immoral proceeding.

And just as it demoralised students and tutors so also it tended to keep at a low level the standard of university examinations. Just as it was impossible to teach above the heads of the large majority of the students, so it was impossible to examine above the level of the teaching. Various attempts to raise the standard of the examinations were made during the time that I was a member of the University Senate in Calcutta. They were met by a determined opposition on the part of the strong vested interests in the private colleges, and resisted successfully. To raise to a proper level the

standard of the examinations would have spelt ruin to a third of the colleges in Calcutta.

If this seems to be a too pessimistic account of university education in India I would recommend a careful study of the evidence given before the Government Commission on the Calcutta University presided over by Sir Michael Sadler and the very full and able report published by the Commission.

One inevitable result of this education through a foreign language and the mechanical system of teaching which resulted from it, has been to divorce words from realities and greatly increase the bondage to phrases to which the mass of men are liable all over the world and especially in India. The devotion of the higher intellect of India for the last 2,500 years to metaphysical speculation and abstract discussions, the popular doctrine of the unreality of the material universe, the fact that in all their rich and voluminous literature for 3,000 years there has been no history and no physical science, have all tended to produce an indifference to facts that is often very perplexing to a Western mind. I remember Bishop Gore, when he paid a visit to the Oxford Mission in Calcutta during the cold weather, coming away from an hour's discussion with a Hindu university student, wearing a look of extreme despair that he ordinarily reserves for really tragic occasions, and exclaiming, " What are you to say to a man who declares that a mutton chop and the idea of a mutton chop are exactly the same to him ? " And the fact that all the higher education of the country has been for the last hundred years given in a foreign language, which is very imperfectly understood by the vast majority of the students, has

enormously widened this gulf that already existed between words and realities.

This was brought home to me very vividly when I went to Madras and began to attend prize-givings at Indian schools and colleges. The difference between the recitations and performances in the vernacular and those in English was most marked. A recitation in English was always wooden and lifeless. But those in the vernacular, even when given by quite small children, were always full of life and vivacity and often rendered with a natural dramatic power that was very delightful. I well remember a performance I once saw at the Noble College, Masulipatam, when the students performed a play in Telugu that they had composed themselves. It described a landowner looking over his accounts and enquiring into the sums that had been spent in bribes to various Government officials. It was full of local colour and, crude as the dialogue may have been, it was glowing with reality.

In striking contrast to this I have an equally vivid recollection of a debate in English at which I was asked to preside, when I visited one of the missionary colleges of the S.P.G. The subject chosen for discussion was " the relative advantages of celibacy and matrimony." It was a purely abstract question as far as the people who took part in the debate were concerned, as, being Hindus, they were all married. The debate was opened by the senior student, who was just going up for the B.A. examination of the Madras University, taking up philosophy as one of his subjects. His opening words were " Celibacy is contrary to the categorical imperative of Kant."

I think that Europeans are inclined to overlook this

result of education in a foreign language when they are either angry at the violence and injustice of the language used in political discussions or are amused at the apparent absurdity of Indians who write to them in English.

It would be unfair to regard the author of the following letter as in any sense a product of English education, but I cannot refrain from quoting it as an extreme illustration of the total divorce between words and facts that can be produced by an imperfect knowledge of English. It was written by a professional letter-writer on behalf of an illiterate man to some government official :

"HONOURED SIR,—

"Having heard of your almighty mercy and tenderness to us worms, I tell you my circumstances. By the grace of God and your Lordship I have seven babes and sucklings. Besides this abominable litter I have many male and female relations. What have I done that I should be blessed with such cursed trials ? As your Lordship is our Father and Mother, I would request that you will take this worm, and wife, and suckles, and relations both male and female, and provide for us from your bounty at a remuneration of Rs 20 a month. I cannot read or write and have the suckle qualifications, and male relations and feminine, but by the grace of God and your Lordship I look forward to years of prosperity and happiness. All the Cheoni of Deoli sing of your praises your justice and mercy, therefore call us that we may fatten on your love and greatness.

Call quickly,

"Your faithfull worm and beast.

"Sd Mina Lal.

(despicable brute and unwilling Father of babes)

What the letter was really intended to convey was simply that Mina Lal had heard that the official was a kind-hearted man, that he himself had a large family to support and wanted a post of Rs 20 a month.

Another result of making English the medium of instruction in all the higher branches of education was not foreseen when the system was adopted. Lord Macaulay wrote in his minute that,

> " we must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions we govern ; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population."

This confident anticipation has not been fulfilled. On the contrary, education through the medium of English has widened the gulf between the educated class and the mass of the people.

It has even created a gulf in the minds of educated men themselves. They think and speak on some subjects in English and on others in their vernacular. A leading Indian politician told me that when he had to make a political speech he always made it in English and could not make it in his vernacular. On the other hand in his own family and in all matters of personal and domestic interest he naturally spoke in the vernacular. So, too, I have often heard educated Indians complain of the duality of their lives. At the University they had read the writings of Milton, Shakespeare, Burke, Mill and Herbert Spencer, and imbibed their ideas, but at home, with their families, they lived in a totally different atmosphere.

And the idea that a class of men educated through the medium of English would enrich the vernaculars " with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature " and so render them vehicles for con-

veying knowledge to the mass of the people has only been realised to a very limited extent. The vernacular newspapers have no doubt been the medium for conveying political catchwords to the people in the villages; and a few men like Rabindra Nath Tagore have done much to enrich the Bengali vernacular; but as a class, the men educated in the colleges have had very little influence in developing the vernaculars. English education on the whole has led to the neglect of the vernaculars rather than to their enrichment. That is one of the indictments which Mr. Gandhi rightly brings against the modern system of education.

The difference in this respect between the universities and the Christian Church is very striking. From the beginning the Bible was translated into all the vernaculars, Christian teaching and Christian preaching was conducted in the vernaculars, and Christian hymns were written in the vernaculars. The result has been a great enrichment of the vernaculars in theological terms and a real development of their capacity to express religious ideas and feelings. Indeed the translation of the Bible may be said to have been the parent of Bengali prose.

Another serious defect was closely connected with the decision to make English the medium of instruction. Controlled by Englishmen and largely imparted by Englishmen the education in the colleges and high schools became aggressively English. Its avowed object from the first, as Lord Macaulay said, was to make Indians English "in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect." This was fundamentally wrong. The object of a national system of education in India should be to turn out not good Englishmen but good Indians. The good sense and ability of the men

who have had to work the system has prevented its being carried to its logical conclusions. But even so the results often border on the ridiculous. A visitor, keenly interested in education, when he arrived in India two years ago was astonished and amused to find that in the first school he visited Indian boys were being taught the names of English railways! And he was more astonished still to find that the managers and teachers of the school saw nothing funny in it. It was all very well for Macaulay to heap scorn on the old indigenous schools of learning for teaching their students about " seas of treacle and seas of butter " ; but after all it is not much improvement to substitute for that " the London Chatham and South Eastern." At the same time, while it has been aggressively English, the Government education in India has failed to reproduce the characteristic excellence of our English system. The special feature of English education as compared with the educational systems of France and Germany and those of other European countries is the great stress that it lays on the training of character. This is the special merit of our public school system, and of our two older Universities. From the point of view of the training of the intellect the continental schools and universities may be superior : but they cannot compare with our English institutions as regards the development of character. The Indian system while aiming at being English has only succeeded in being continental. Unfortunately the model of a university adopted was not Oxford or Cambridge, but London, and that at a time when the London University was much inferior to what it is to-day.

So the British Government in India adopted a

wrong model at a bad period of its history, and the Indian universities were started as simply examining bodies. There have been recent developments in a different direction; but the main function of the Indian universities is still to examine. And to make matters worse the colleges have, with very few exceptions, been non-residential. The result is that the corporate life which has been so powerful an influence in the English educational system has been wholly sacrificed. Added to this the Government schools and colleges and the universities themselves have been of necessity non-religious. The British Government quite rightly, both in education and in other matters, have maintained a strict religious neutrality. They have rigidly abstained from interfering in any shape or form with the religious beliefs and customs of the people. It would have been impossible for them to maintain their position and govern India on any other principles. At the same time the absence of all religious teaching and influence in the education of the great majority of the students in the colleges and schools throughout India has been a grievous loss. The main preoccupation of India since the dawn of history has been religion. As the genius of Greece expressed itself in art and philosophy, the genius of Rome in law and the genius of England in politics, so the genius of India, like that of the Jews, has always expressed itself in religion. A system of education for India, therefore, which leaves out religion is like the play without Hamlet. What is required above all things in any system of national education is that it should be in close touch with the life, the ideas, the sentiments and the aspirations of the people and should develop their special genius. Government

education in India has tended to repress India's genius rather than to develop it and to substitute politics for religion as the main preoccupation.

Soon after the time when English education was first introduced in Calcutta Christian influences were brought to bear very strongly upon the student class. During the time of Dr. Duff, the Scottish missionary who did so great a work in building up the Presbyterian College in Calcutta and had a very large influence in the early development of the Calcutta University, contemporary historians describe the thrill of interest and excitement which passed through Hindu society as the result of his work. And when I first went to India forty years ago there was still a real desire for religious truth among the university students and the educated classes generally. The leaders of the Brahmo Samaj, a sect which aimed at combining all that was good and true in all the great religions of the world upon a foundation of monotheism, still had a powerful influence in Calcutta. Their great leader Keshub Chunder Sen died a year before I arrived, but Protab Chunder Mazoomdar, who succeeded him as the head of "the New Dispensation," was an impressive orator, and his lectures were largely attended. It seemed not impossible in those days that this movement for reform would capture the whole of the educated Hindus in Bengal and even throughout India. And I can well remember the interest in religious and moral subjects among the students with whom I came into contact. I was often asked to preside at debating clubs, and the subjects debated were nearly always connected with religion or morality.

On one occasion I found myself in a strange position. A public meeting had been arranged in Calcutta which

it was desirable to hold on neutral ground with an impartial chairman. So the large lecture hall of the Oxford Mission was borrowed, and I was asked, as Superior of the Mission, to take the chair. The subject of discussion was whether orthodox Hindus should be allowed "to cross the black water" and visit England without breaking caste. The hall was packed with an excited crowd of Hindus, most of them students with a considerable number of older men and a small knot of learned Hindu pandits. The meeting was tense with excitement. The pandits made impassioned speeches upholding the authority of the scriptures, which forbid Hindus to cross the sea; the younger men pleaded for liberty; and finally Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji (now Sir Surendra Nath), who was at that time the chief leader of the Nationalists, summed up the discussion by first emphasising with a passion equal to that of the pandits the duty of obeying the scriptures, and then declaring with an earnestness equal to that of the students the necessity of being in harmony with the spirit of modern progress.

I have referred to this meeting because it illustrates the keen interest taken by the university students as late as 1890 in the religious aspect of things and the way in which even one of the most advanced political leaders of the day thought it necessary to uphold the authority of the Hindu scriptures.

But to-day nearly all that interest in religion has passed away and been supplanted by an interest in politics. It is true that Mr. Gandhi is essentially a religious force and owes his hold over the masses largely to his religious character; but what appeals to the educated classes in Mr. Gandhi is not his

religious ideals, but his struggle for political rights and independence.

What will be the result of this loss of interest in religion on the political development of India remains to be seen ; but from an educational point of view as regards the training of character it is a great loss.

The contrast between the continental system of education, adopted by the Government in India, and the English system was brought home to me during my work in Calcutta from 1884 to 1899 by my own experience as Principal of Bishop's College. Unlike the other colleges affiliated to the Calcutta University, Bishop's College was purely residential, with only Christian students, so that we had a real corporate life, of which the college chapel was the centre. The result was that though we were very small in numbers as compared with other colleges (the students only numbered about 50, while 7 other larger colleges had between 600 and 800 students each), still when challenge shields for cricket, football and athletics were given in 1895 to be competed for by all Indian schools and colleges in Calcutta, Bishop's College carried off all the three challenge shields for four years running. The Hindu students attributed our success to various subtle causes. When I was looking on at the final of one exciting football match between Bishop's College and the Presidency College, I heard a knot of Hindu students shouting out excitedly, " Bishops are winning. Bishops eat beef." But my own explanation I think is the true one. We were the only college that had a real corporate life, where the training of characters was made one of the primary aims of education.

If this view of Higher Education in India is true, or even approximately true, one of the first subjects

to which Indian politicians ought to turn their attention is a thorough reform of the whole system. It will not be an easy task, and it can only be accomplished slowly and painfully, as large vested interests have grown up all over India on the basis of the present system, and they will stoutly resist all efforts to reform it ; and a large number of the Nationalists themselves, unlike Mr. Gandhi, are strongly opposed to the substitution of the vernaculars for English as the medium of instruction, on the ground that it would imperil the political unity of India. They are afraid that the knowledge of English would deteriorate both in quality and quantity and would cease to be the common language for the educated classes throughout India. These fears, I think, are groundless. In Mr. Rabindra Nath Tagore's High School at Bolpur in Bengal the medium of instruction is Bengali in all classes from the lowest to the highest, and English is taught as a foreign language. The result is that English is learnt better than it is in schools where English is the medium of instruction, and the students who go from that school to the University go better equipped than those from the Government schools in the Province.

But undoubtedly the fear of the Nationalists is strong and widespread, and it will take time to overcome it, though for the future development of the country and the progress of India towards a truly national life few subjects are of greater importance.

The Report of the Sadler Commission on the Calcutta University advocates an immediate advance in this direction in the high schools and in part of the university course ; but reformers ought not to rest content till the whole or almost the whole of the

higher education in schools and colleges alike is given in the vernaculars and also until education is set free from the control of the Education Department and allowed to develop freely, unshackled by the rigid bonds of Government codes. Above all the training of character should be given its proper place as the keystone of the whole system.

CHAPTER 11

VILLAGE EDUCATION

AS about 80 per cent. of the population of India live in villages and are engaged directly or indirectly in agriculture, the progress and prosperity of India depend as much upon the education of the village people as upon the development of the universities. And village education is a special problem, quite different from that of higher education in the towns. An Indian village is not a miniature town, but lives an independent life and has a character of its own. In former times, when there were no roads, canals or railways, and means of communication were few and bad, the villages were more independent than they are to-day under the highly centralised system of the British Government. But they are still to a large extent self-contained and self-sufficing. The farmers grow the food; the weavers weave the cloth from thread supplied by their masters; the carpenter and blacksmith do all the repairs needed to the carts and agricultural implements; the barber shaves the caste people on auspicious days; the Brahman priests perform the religious ceremonies and preside over the temple of Śiva or Vishnu; ministers of a lower caste officiate at the periodical sacrifices to the village goddess; the silversmith supplies the ornaments for the women; the grain merchant, the money-lender and possibly a local landowner, form the plutocracy

of the community. The social life is simple and on the whole uneventful. The women grind the rice or millet, sweep the house, cook the food, look after the children and offer flowers, fruit and incense to the family idol. In the early morning they meet at the well and gossip about the village scandal; and the men meet every evening, when their work is done, under the sacred tree, and seated on a stone platform discuss the village politics.

A system of education, therefore, ought to take account of this self-sufficing, independent character of an Indian village. The large majority of the children educated in the schools will have to stay in the village and take their part in its life and work.

It is of no use giving the children an education that will fit them to make their way in the towns, but is useless for them in the villages.

We must also take account of two facts which greatly increase the difficulty of providing a complete system of education for the village folk of India.

The first is the fact that each village consists of two separate units which from an educational point of view must be dealt with separately. The caste people and the outcastes cannot be treated as one society. The outcastes are untouchable and therefore the outcaste children cannot sit side by side with the caste children in the same school. I have alluded to this difficulty in a former chapter. But I mention it again to show the enormous difficulty there will be in educating the mass of the people so long as the caste system is maintained as the basis of Hindu society. At present there are vast arrears to be made up. The

number of schools in the villages would have to be increased at least fourfold to provide one school for each village. But unless the caste system is broken down two schools will be needed in each village and the number of schools would be increased eightfold.

I hear that the Government of Madras are making a valiant attempt to combat the exclusion of the outcastes from the Government schools. I hope they may succeed ; but I doubt if it will be possible for them to fight successfully against this fundamental principle of Hindu social life. The only body that has a chance of success, I believe, is the Christian Church.

Then the second fact that makes the progress of education difficult is the almost universal indebtedness of the people. This is true of both the caste people and the outcastes.

In the case of the outcastes this indebtedness is due to their miserably inadequate wages. In the case of the caste people it is largely due to the extravagant sums that they spend on marriages and funerals. If a man has many daughters it almost spells ruin. I have often known a family spend a whole year's income on the marriage of a single daughter. Funerals are not quite so ruinous, but they are a serious burden.

Some thirty-five years ago I was discussing with a Bengali gentleman the causes of the poverty of the people. He had just come from the annual meeting of the National Congress, where the subject had been discussed, and maintained stoutly that the Congress was right in ascribing the impoverishment of the people to the expensiveness of the British Govern-

ment. I ventured to suggest that it was largely due to the extravagant expenditure on weddings and funerals. He acknowledged at once that this was true and that all the people in his village were in debt to him on this account. Probably the money-lender in every village in India would say the same.

As the main obstacle in the way of the extension of education in India is financial, this universal indebtedness is a serious difficulty. In the last resort the people must pay for their own education. In India, as elsewhere, there is a vague idea that the Government is a kind of fairy god-mother and has only to wave its wand to provide whatever blessings the people need. Even educated people seem unable to realise that the Government only collects and disburses the funds provided by the people themselves, and that the problem is not how to persuade or compel a hard-hearted, unsympathetic Government to disgorge its treasures and pay for the education of the villagers; but how to enable the villagers to pay six or eight times as much for education as they do at present, when they are nearly all in debt.

Under these circumstances the extension of education and multiplication of schools is a difficult business. But even more difficult still is the problem of discovering the kind of education best suited to an Indian village community, and this needs to be solved before any extension of education on a large scale could be profitably undertaken even if the funds were available. It is a problem that the British Government have as yet hardly even considered. The schools that they have so far established in the villages have but little

relation to the facts of village life. They are not really designed to educate villagers, but to be the first rungs of a ladder leading up to the university. They have been planned and controlled by men whose whole experience has been in towns, and who have little interest in the needs of the country folk. A few years ago when I was talking to the Minister of Education in the Government of India about village education, he seriously maintained that the object of village schools was to enable promising lads to get out of the villages and earn a better living in the towns. Apparently he took no account of the fact that at least 80 per cent. of the children must perforce remain in the villages. And that is typical of the attitude of Government towards village education for the last eighty years. The old system, which was destroyed, with all its inefficiency still aimed at supplying the actual needs of the village people. The different classes, landowners, shop-keepers, money-lenders, and farmers, all for different reasons wanted to be able to read and write and keep accounts ; and the old indigenous schools enabled them to do this. The technical and professional education required was provided for by the caste system. The farmer taught his sons agriculture, the carpenter taught his sons carpentry, the silversmith taught his sons to make silver ornaments, the coppersmith taught his sons to make brass and copper vessels, and the barber taught his sons to shave, to gossip and arrange marriages. It was all very simple and primitive, but so far as it went it did meet the simple needs of the people. The ablest and most experienced servants of the Company at the beginning of the nineteenth century recognised this and, as I have shown in a former chapter, strongly

advocated that this old system should be preserved and improved.

Unhappily, under the spell of Lord Macaulay's rhetoric, the Company forsook the counsel of their older servants, devoted their energies mainly to giving higher education in towns and cities to a limited class and neglected the villages. The result is that after about a century of educational development the problem of the villages still awaits solution.

As I toured through the villages of South India I was often amused and still more often irritated at the instances that I came across of the indifference displayed by officials of the Education Department, with regard to the conditions of village life. When on tour in the Madras Presidency I once visited a school which was held in a mud hut with an uneven mud floor. The pupils were quite small children of the outcaste classes, ranging from about four to ten years old. I noticed outside the schoolroom, under a tree, a number of rough wooden benches. On asking what they were for, I was told that they were kept there for the inspector's visits. As a condition of his recommending the school for a Government grant he required that the children should be made to sit on benches. The poor little mites had never done such a perilous thing in their lives ; but as the inspector demanded it, benches were provided. Before his visit they were brought into the school, and the schoolmaster duly drilled the children in the art of sitting on them without tumbling off. If the school had been intended to fit the children for village life the absurdity of such a rule would have been obvious. As, however, the Government codes and rules were

framed with the idea that the village school led up to the university the absurdity did not occur to the inspector.

During the last twenty years, however, far more attention has been paid to this important subject. The education of the masses was made a plank in the platform of the National Congress very early in its history; some politicians even advocated compulsory education, and the Gaikwar of Baroda has for some years past tried the experiment in his state. But it is easier to devise a paper scheme for compulsory education than to make it succeed.

The Christian missionaries in different parts of India are, I think, making the most hopeful experiments and are most likely to arrive at a solution of the problem. They live in the villages, learn the language and gain an intimate first-hand knowledge of the lives and customs of the people. At the same time they are in touch with the ideas and experience of leading educationists in Great Britain and the United States of America.

The direction in which they have been moving during the last ten years is towards what I would call community education, as opposed to the system which merely aims at teaching the children. The idea is that the schools for the children should take their place as part of the general uplift of the village, and that the education given in the schools should definitely prepare the boys and girls to take their place in the life and progress of the community to which they belong. This idea has been arrived at by many people independently during the last ten or fifteen years in North and South alike. My own

attention was first drawn to it by a valuable experiment in social service made ten years ago by the Madras Social Service League in a small village of outcastes which was situated on the outskirts of the city. The village, which consisted of about 200 people, mostly domestic servants, was filthily dirty, as it had no sanitary arrangements of any kind whatsoever and no water supply. The stench in the street was intolerable. The people were all in debt and had borrowed various sums at either 75 per cent. or 150 per cent. (either one anna or two annas in the rupee a month). To add to their poverty, and partly in consequence of it, the large majority of them were drunkards. Almost every evening we could hear from our house the shouts of the men and screams of the women. There was, of course, no school and the children hung about the village street unkempt, dirty and ill-mannered. The Social Service League began by tackling the three crying evils of the village, dirt, debt and drink. The starting of a co-operative credit society under the rules laid down by Government and under the control of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies was the first step. It united the people in a combined effort to help themselves and to get rid of one of the chief burdens that weighed them down and made any improvement in their lot seem hopeless.

I need not describe in detail the work of the Social Service League in the village. It will be sufficient to say that in less than three years the village was entirely free from the clutches of the money-lenders, it was so effectually cleaned up that it became, if not a model village, yet a place that it was not offensive to walk through, and a school was established which transformed

the children and became a real community centre. The schoolmaster was the secretary of the co-operative society. At the same time drunkenness, instead of being the normal condition of a large number of the people every night, became very rare, and the health of the people improved in quite a remarkable way.

The thing that struck me very forcibly, as I watched the progress of this work, was the great value of dealing with the village life as a whole and not in separate compartments. The old-fashioned method was for different persons and different organisations to take up separate parts of the work. One set of people attacked drink, another sanitation, another debt, another education, another infant welfare. This may be all very well in England, though even there I am inclined to think that greater co-ordination of social service work would be an advantage ; but in India it involves a great waste of effort and is fatal to success. The various evils that afflict and depress the life of the people in the villages are all connected with one another and ought to be dealt with as one problem. Dirt, debt, drink, disease, infant mortality, immorality and ignorance are so closely related that it is impossible to deal effectively with any one of them in isolation.

One of the main reasons, therefore, why so little progress has been made towards the solution of the difficult problem of village education during the last sixty or seventy years is that it has been dealt with in isolation. The village school has been a thing by itself, having little or no influence on the general welfare of the village community. The result is that the people will not keep their children long enough

at school to make the education effective. In the Madras Presidency, and I have no doubt it is the same in other parts of India, the average duration of the school life of the children is about 2½ years. So that the vast majority never get beyond the infant standards, and in the villages about 60 per cent. become illiterate within five years after leaving school.

During the last ten or fifteen years the minds of many educational and social reformers in India have been moving towards the idea of community education. Sir Frederick Nicholson, an eminent member of the Madras Civil Service, who first introduced co-operative societies into India, and since his retirement has devoted himself to the development of the fisheries of the Madras Presidency and other industries, advocated it some years ago in a memorandum which he wrote to the Government of Madras on the education of the fisher caste on the west coast. The leading idea of his scheme was that the school was to be a community centre and the teacher a community leader.

A little later the missionary societies of America and Great Britain sent out to Madras an important Commission, of which the Rev. A. G. Fraser, the Principal of Trinity College, Kandy, was the chairman, to make "a thorough study of the best means of meeting the educational needs of the villages of India." They were instructed

"to make a broad survey of the educational needs of Indian villages; to gather the fruits of the experience of Indian workers, missionaries, Government officials and leaders of public life in India and of educators in other countries visited; and in the light of this experience and of the fresh study of present conditions to advise the

missionary societies at home how they may make their largest and best contribution to the advancement of the Kingdom of God in India."

The Commission had, therefore, a special reference to the educational work of missionary societies, especially in view of the needs created by the great mass movement towards the Christian Church on the part of the outcastes. But the general conclusions of the commission and the main facts on which they were based throw much light on the whole problem of village education and deserve the serious attention of the Government and of the Education Departments as well as of the missionary societies.

The commission began by a study of educational work in the villages of the United States of America and the Philippines and then visited Japan and Ceylon. They started their work in India by a short visit to Madras, and then at Lahore met the National Missionary Council, which represents all the Protestant missionary societies working in India. Afterwards they visited representative villages and schools all over India and in every province had interviews with leading Indians—Christians and non-Christians, missionaries and Government officials, and held conferences with all these different classes of people. Altogether they visited about 300 schools and held 53 conferences in addition to their interviews with individuals. They had, therefore, ample opportunity of enquiring into the facts and becoming acquainted with the ideas and experience of all kinds of people interested in education. Their report is a short one, consisting of about 200 pages. It gives their conclusions and recommendations, but does not attempt to give all the facts on

which they were based. One of the most important of their recommendations is their endorsement of the plan, advocated by Sir Frederick Nicholson and described above, for the establishment of schools as community centres with community teachers. With reference to some of the night schools for adults which they visited they say that

"when the teacher is trained to be a community leader, and the school has become a community centre, the schoolroom will often be full at night of adults keen for instruction on everything that pertains to the welfare of their village—sanitary, economic, moral."

They recognised fully, of course, that the elaborate organisation and equipment of an American village school would be impossible in India, but they give a brief sketch of the kind of work which a community centre might do in an Indian village. The people

"could learn how to dispose of night-soil from a septic tank at the school. A centre is needed for the circulating library. The teacher may become the initial secretary of the co-operative society. School inspectors, missionaries, and villagers revisiting their homes, could be occasionally secured to give lectures. The teachers may be used to distribute seed sent out by Government. A greater public opinion may be developed by getting old boys back to the school, so that the people can see and hear the results of education; by organised lantern lectures and story telling in the main school, and the surrounding villages. . . . The village women may come for an hour a week to learn sewing, and incidentally receive instruction in hygiene and sanitation."

I would add to this that the school might well be used as a simple dispensary and for spreading information as to the treatment of the most prevalent diseases. It would not be difficult to give the schoolmasters a rudimentary knowledge of medicine as part of their training, and they might then form a valuable link

between the Medical Department of the Government and the villages. I know that doctors, especially European doctors, are very shy of allowing or encouraging any persons who have not had a fairly complete medical training to have anything to do with the treatment of diseases. But even if the schoolmasters were limited to curing children of itch they would do a great deal to improve the health of the population and could not make any disastrous mistakes about it. And after all, attempts are already made to deal with diseases by appalling methods, and if the schoolmaster could be taught to discourage these and substitute something which was comparatively safe, they would do much good. They might without risk tell parents that when their children get a stomach-ache it is better to administer a dose of castor oil than to brand the child's stomach with a red-hot iron.

This method of making elementary schools centres of medical work was tried very successfully in a few of the schools in Madras. The conditions are different in a city, but the general idea is as applicable to the villages as to a town.

I think also that the connection between other government departments and the community schools might be considerably extended. At the present time there is a wide gulf between the departments and the vast majority of the villages. What is needed is a connecting link. This could be supplied by the community school and the community teacher.

The Medical Department could use them, as I have said above, to spread a simple knowledge of medicine ; the Sanitary Department could use them to give very

simple instruction on sanitation; the Agricultural Department could use them not only for the distribution of seeds, but also for giving the particular instruction which the Department wants to give in each separate area; the Registrar of co-operative societies could use them for starting and supervising his societies. At present so far as the large majority of the villages go all these departments are up in the air. They have no organisation for reaching the mass of the people, and it would be far too expensive for each department to create its own machinery for its own special work.

The advantages of schools of this kind and the benefits they would confer on the villages are obvious. To begin with, they would be in close touch with village life, and the Report rightly insists on this as an essential feature of a sound system of village education.

"The curriculum must be linked up with the world into which the children are going. Schools have been seen which show no connection with the community outside. Not only are the pupils handling a tool (reading) which they do not see used about them (a condition that is inevitable in an illiterate community), but the context of the reading may be urban and the arithmetic and general knowledge unconnected with village life. If in education one is seeking an adjustment between the child and the environment this will not be attained by divorcing the school environment from all the child has known and will experience."

Then, in the second place, the schools would give the villages what they really need. They would directly improve the health and prosperity of the people. The question that I have been asked again and again by village people when I have exhorted them to send their children to school is "What is the use of it?" And it has been difficult to answer

the question. There could be no doubt as to the utility of such a school as the Report describes. It would obviously and directly bear upon the well-being and progress of the community.

Two objections to this scheme will naturally occur to anyone who knows anything about village life in India. The first is that it will require teachers of far higher qualifications than those now available. The head teacher of a school which is to be a community centre must know a certain amount about a good many things of which he is at present almost entirely ignorant. He need not be an Admirable Crichton, but he must be able to give simple instructions about sanitation and the treatment of ordinary diseases and wounds ; he must have intelligence enough to hand on correctly the advice and instructions of the Agricultural Department and to act as secretary of a co-operative society, and possibly to become the agent of the Board that is concerned with the development of local industries. He only needs to be able to hand on the simple instructions that he would receive on these subjects, but he must be able to hand them on correctly and intelligently. It would not, however, be more difficult to train village lads for work of this kind than it is to train the Christian teachers in mission schools to teach the Bible, in addition to the ordinary secular subjects prescribed in the Government code, and also to take charge of village congregations. In the Church of England missions alone in the Telugu country there are at the present time about 1,000 Christian teachers of this type who have all been drawn from the outcaste classes. They are not, of course, all equally efficient, but a large proportion of them are, as I can testify from my own

experience, doing work just as varied and difficult as that which would be required of a community teacher, and doing it well. If it is possible to train in a comparatively short space of time teachers of this kind taken from the poor, degraded outcastes, it cannot be impossible to train village lads taken from the caste people for work that is certainly not more difficult.

Another objection is the expense. At present the salaries of village teachers range from Rs 15 to Rs 30 a month. The salary of more highly trained and better qualified teachers would probably range from Rs 25 to Rs 60 a month. This objection is undoubtedly at first sight more serious than the other. The main obstacle to the extension of education in India, as I have said above, is lack of funds. It is difficult enough as it is to find money for the existing schools. What is the use of advocating a scheme which involves doubling the salaries of the teachers and giving them a more expensive training?

But two considerations will largely diminish the force of this objection. In the first place half the education given under the existing system is wasted. The official estimate is that about 40 per cent. of the pupils in the schools throughout India become illiterate within five years after leaving school. This includes the schools in towns and cities as well as in villages. If we limit our view to the villages the percentage is higher still, so that the statement made above that in the village districts of the Madras Presidency about 60 per cent. of the children become illiterate after leaving school is well within the mark. But this means that, so far as the education of the masses is concerned, it would pay better to diminish the

number of schools and double the salaries of the teachers, if by this means the schools could be made more effective and the results more permanent. It looks well in official reports to have a large number of schools and a large number of pupils. But if we look at the results actually produced it would not be unfair to say that more than half the money now spent on village education is simply thrown away.

Then a more important consideration still is that if an education were given that directly increased the prosperity of the villages the people would be able and willing to pay for it themselves. To take as an example the village on the outskirts of Madras which was the scene of the social service work described above. The debts of the village amounted to about Rs 800 and were charged with interest at 75 per cent. as a minimum. Some carried interest at 150 per cent. Taking the smaller figure, the interest paid by the village amounted to Rs 600 a year. When relieved of this crushing burden of interest, most of the people were able to pay off their debts. But even if all the debts had been simply taken over by the Co-operative Society and charged with interest at 9 per cent. the gain to the village would have been over Rs 500 a year. If we add to that the amount saved to the village by the diminution of disease and drink the increase in the wealth of the people would be far higher.

In the ordinary villages remote from towns and cities the interest on loans for the caste people is not so high as they have some security to offer in the form of land, stock, crops and houses. But the gain to the villages of cheaper capital for the improvement

of agricultural methods would be very great. A few years ago the Principal of the Government Agricultural College at Pusa in North India told me that the progress of agriculture in India depended far more on co-operation than on anything else ; so that any educational scheme for village schools which facilitated the starting and maintenance of co-operative societies would benefit considerably India's chief industry and even a large sum of money spent on it would be a good investment.

In the same way, though the drink evil is not as bad in most of the villages as it was in that village of outcastes in Madras, still a large sum of money is spent in almost all of them on toddy and arrack. From inquiries that I made in different parts of India a few years ago with regard to this subject, I found that it was quite common for a village of about 1,000 people to spend over Rs 2,000 a year on their drink bill. If half of this sum went to the Government revenue, and would have to be paid in other ways if the village went dry, still the total saving would be Rs 1,000 a year. This alone would more than provide the salary of a head teacher.

The financial difficulty, therefore, is not nearly as great as it appears to be. It may sound a paradox, but I believe it is true to say that the people will not and cannot pay for the existing type of schools that cost Rs 30 a month, but could and would pay for community schools that would cost Rs 60 or Rs 70 a month ; for the simple reason that the cheaper schools would be of little or of no use to them, while the more expensive schools would considerably add to their wealth. And from the point of view of the Government, it would be a far better investment to

pay double for really good schools that would promote the moral and material progress of the people than to cover the country with schools that are cheap and ineffective.

CHAPTER 12

MISSIONARY EDUCATION

DURING the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Roman Catholic missionaries did comparatively little educational work, except in the Portuguese territory of Goa and among the Syrian Christians of the Malabar Coast. Francis Xavier in the first half of the sixteenth century established the college of St. Paul at Goa for the purpose of forming an efficient auxiliary clergy, and later on the Jesuits established another college and training school near Cochin on the south-west coast, and various industrial settlements to form a base for their work among the Syrian Christians and in South India generally.[1] But Francis Xavier's procedure in his evangelistic work was too hasty to fit in with the slow and patient method of the educationalist. His letters show that his method was to enter a village, call the people together by ringing a bell, recite to them in Tamil the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed and certain prayers to the Virgin, which was all he knew of the language, making the people repeat it all after him, and then to baptise at once those that consented to receive baptism. As he passed on from village to village, however, he would leave in each place palm-leaf books containing the lessons to be committed to memory, and this was his

[1] *History of the Jesuit Mission in Madura, S. India*, by J. S. Chandler, M.A., p. 11.

one slender link with education. He claimed to have left Christian doctrine in writing in all the towns and villages he visited. To judge by his own account of his converts the method was not a great success. He says that the Christians he baptised formed one of the chief obstacles to the progress of his work, as they carved idols, got drunk and were litigious. He was not very hopeful, therefore, about their future. "Of all people in India," he declared, "very few reach heaven, except those who die before they are fourteen years old, and so with baptismal innocence."

His successor, the great Jesuit missionary Robert de Nobili, who worked at Madura at the beginning of the seventeenth century, adopted very different methods.[1] Madura was then a great centre of Hindu learning and de Nobili set himself to win to Christianity the Brahmans, the higher castes and the learned men. He adopted the mode of life of a Brahman, wore the sacred thread, studied Sanskrit and Hindu philosophy, mastered the vernacular and cut himself off from all intercourse with Europeans and low caste Indian Christians, including even the Jesuit priests who ministered to them. He went so far as to forge a fifth Veda in Sanskrit and insert into it Christian truths. His fellow-workers adopted similar methods and the record of their work during the seventeenth century forms one of the most romantic and heroic chapters in the history of Christian missions in India.

The special feature of their work that I am concerned with now is the example they set of propagating Christianity among the higher castes by learning

[1] *The History of the Madura Mission of the Jesuit*, by J. S. Chandler, M.A., p. 10.

and scholarship. In that particular they may be regarded as the forerunners of the educational missions of modern times. But the only form of educational work that they actually attempted was the circulation of their own compositions on the Creed, Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments written on palm leaves.

During the eighteenth century the disturbed state of the country, resulting from the break up of the Moghul Empire, made any extensive system of education an impossibility. The Protestant mission at the Danish settlement of Tranquebar, on the east coast, south of Madras, established one school for Danes, Germans and Portuguese, and another for Indians at Tranquebar itself, another at the English settlement at Cuddalore and later on a fourth at Madras. But these schools were very small. In 1710 there were at Tranquebar only about five children in the European and thirteen in the Indian school, all housed, fed and clothed by the missionaries and educated free. The schools at Cuddalore and Madras seem to have been somewhat larger.

About 1763 the famous German missionary Schwartz established an orphanage for European children at Trichinopoly under tragic circumstances. The powder magazine of the English garrison blew up and killed a number of English soldiers. The Commandant collected about 300 pagodas which he gave to Schwartz, who was then taking services for the garrison, as the nucleus of a fund for the establishment of a school for their orphans. The institution still exists as the Trichinopoly Vestry School and has done good work for the education

of Anglo-Indian children for the last 160 years.

The efforts of the East India Company in the matter of education during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were mainly confined to providing an elementary education for the children of their own servants. But in view of the widely prevalent idea that the Company were hostile to missionary work it is interesting to note that their first educational venture was of a missionary character. The Rev. F. Penny in his learned book on the Church in Madras quotes the following extract from the minutes of the Court of Directors :

" 19 August, 1614. Captain Best having brought home a youth, an Indian, whoe was taught by Mr. Copland, the Preacher, to wright and reade and is very apt to learn, The Company therefore resolved to have him kept here to schoole to bee taught and enstructed in religion that hereafter being well grounded he might upon occasion bee sent into his countrye where God may be soe pleased to make him an instrument in converting some of his nation. And resolved to have 20 markes per annum allowed for that purpose, and that if Mr. Copland The Preacher should undertake another voyage that then this youth should be permitted to go and attend him."

About a year later Mr. Copland wrote to the Board stating that the youth had " profited in the knowledge of Christian religion," and asking for instructions about his baptism. The Court could not ".resolve anything in soe weightie a business " without first consulting the Archbishop of Canterbury. On his approving the proposal, the youth was baptised on December 22, 1616, at St. Dionis Backchurch, Fenchurch Street, in the presence of some members of the Privy Council, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the members of the East India Company and of the sister Company of Virginia. The King

selected his Christian name and surname, Peter Pope.[1]

Such importance must have put a great strain on Peter's virtue of humility. We do not know anything about his work in India after his return. I should fear that the education in England and the creditable letters in Latin that he is said to have written during the outward voyage to the Governor of the East India Company and the commander of the ship were no great help to him in his evangelistic work among his own countrymen.

Later on, in 1677, the directors at home were concerned about the religious instruction of the children in Fort St. George, Madras, and sent out 100 Bibles and 200 Catechisms. They also expressed the wish that the children should be catechised every Sunday afternoon and a present of two pagodas given to each child who could repeat the Catechism correctly.[2] A year later we read that nine boys repeated the Catechism by heart and received two rupees each.

About the same time the Company seriously considered a plan proposed by the Honourable Robert Boyle, the philosopher, for propagating the Gospel in India. The plan included training young men in England at the universities in Arabic and the Malay language, and money was subscribed for the support of the young men. Unfortunately it transpired that neither language would be of any use in India.[3]

In the Charter of 1698 Parliament stipulated expressly that the Company should appoint a minister

[1] *The Church in Madras*, by the Rev. Frank Penny, vol. i, pp. 14–16.

[2] Penny, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 66.

[3] Penny, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 95–7.

for every garrison and superior factory in the East Indies and that all such ministers

"shall apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they reside the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be the servants or the slaves of the Company or of their agents, in the Protestant Religion."

The Charter also states :—

"We further will and direct that the Company shall provide schoolmasters in all the said garrisons and superior factories where they shall be found necessary." [1]

In the nineteenth century when the Company had acquired territorial sovereignty over large territories in India they laid aside this missionary zeal for the conversion of the Gentoos and adopted a policy of strict religious neutrality. But it is obviously unjust to charge the Company in its earlier days with hostility or indifference to the spread of Christianity. It may be fairly claimed on their behalf that they set the example of using schools as instruments for the propagation of the Christian faith.

In the nineteenth century, when the British had established their position as the paramount power in India and law and order was restored, there was a rapid development of Christian education and missionary work generally. Bishop's College, Calcutta, of which I had the honour to be principal for sixteen years from 1883 to 1899, was founded in 1820 by Bishop Middleton, the first Bishop of the Church of England in India, and also incidentally Bishop of the whole of Australia. The scheme was liberally supported by the three missionary societies of the Church of England, the S.P.G., the C.M.S., and the S.P.C.K., and

[1] Penny, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 123.

a special fund of £45,747 was raised in 1819 by means of a King's Letter sent to all the parishes in England asking them to give collections for this object. I believe that this was the last occasion on which such a letter was sent, and the fact of its being issued on behalf of Bishop's College shows the widespread public interest taken in this project for promoting education in India. A distinguished Cambridge scholar, the Rev. W. H. Mill, Fellow of Trinity College, was appointed as the first Principal. He left England in August 1820 and arrived in Calcutta in February 1821. The statutes of the College state that it was intended to be not only a theological college for instructing "Native and other Christian youths" from India and all the islands in the East, subject to British authority, in the doctrines and discipline of the Church, in order to their becoming preachers, catechisers and schoolmasters; but also for teaching "the elements of useful knowledge and the English language to Mussalmans or Hindus." The course of studies was an ambitious one and included instruction in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindustani, Persian, Arabic, Tamil, Singhalese and Armenian.

Writing in 1837, sixteen years after the opening of the College, Bishop Middleton says with reference to the non-Christian students:

"These young Hindoos have not only cast off all idolatrous usages and habits, but are steadily acquiring Christian knowledge. They are quick in their apprehension of truth, with tenacious memories and great piety. They translate Homer, Xenophon, Cicero and Ovid in a manner perfectly surprising, and with a justness of English pronunciation which increases the pleasure. Conceive only, if it be possible, in an inadequate manner, of a Hindoo Baboo explaining Paley, Barrow, Graves, Bishop Sumner and others of our English writers, and then their knowledge of the Old Testament which was

probed to the bottom by the Venerable Archdeacon Dealtry and of the Lord's Prayer in which I examined them myself, it would have charmed any of the members of the Society."

It is interesting to look back on the ideals of the higher education of non-Christians prevalent in those days. Imagine indeed their being taught to translate Homer, Xenophon, Cicero and Ovid and to explain the writings of Paley, Barrow, Graves and Bishop Sumner!

It seems almost incredible now that a course of study of this kind could have been regarded as a suitable education either for "a Hindoo Baboo" or for young Indian Christians who were preparing to be catechists and schoolmasters. It is hardly to be wondered at that the College failed to fulfil the hopes of its founders and that when I became principal in January 1884 I found one student in the College.

But the true founder of the modern educational mission to the higher castes was the great Scottish missionary Dr. Duff, who brought to the task a burning enthusiasm, a force of character and a lofty idealism which the Englishmen lacked. He arrived in Calcutta in 1830, before Macaulay's minute was written, when there was no university, and when, with the exception of Bishop's College and David Hare's School, English education was almost non-existent.

"How far even educated people had been touched by European ideas," writes Bishop Mylne, "may be estimated by a single fact, that the first scientific conception which Duff had to communicate to his pupils, who belonged to the most intelligent classes, was that rain was not to be accounted for by the spouting of a celestial elephant discharging water from its trunk."[1]

[1] *Missions to Hindus*, by Louis George Mylne, D.D., Bishop of Bombay, 1867–97, pp. 132–3.

But Duff arrived in India at a psychological moment. Lord Macaulay was then Secretary to the Board of Control at home and was soon to go to India as a member of the Viceroy's Council. Lord William Bentinck, a man of liberal and progressive views, was Viceroy. And the great religious reformer Ram Mohun Roy was at the height of his influence in Calcutta, strongly urging the Hindus to give their sons an English education and himself initiating the work. A reaction against the old traditions of religion and learning was in the air. As Dr. Mylne says:

"If ever an opportunity and a man were divinely brought together, it was when Duff set foot in Calcutta. He had been shipwrecked twice on the way . . . and something of the awful regard which St. Paul excited at Malta, when he shook off the snake into the fire, became associated in the native mind with this man, twice saved from the waters." [1]

The only instructions he had received from the authorities of the established Church of Scotland were that he was not to work in Calcutta. But he had made up his mind that his mission in life was to convert the Brahmans and high caste Hindus to Christianity.

"His object was," says his biographer, "in the strength of God and the intensity of a faith that burned ever more brightly to his dying hour, nothing less than the destruction of a system of beliefs, life and ancient civilisation of the highest type, based on a great literature, expressed in the most elaborate language the world has seen." [2]

The instrument by which he was confident that he could accomplish this purpose was "education

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 134.
[2] *Life of Dr. Duff*, by George Smith, p. 106.

saturated with the Bible." He told the people of Scotland ten years afterwards :

> " We shall, with the blessing of God, devote our time and strength to the preparing of a mine, and the setting of a train which shall one day explode and tear up the whole from its lowest depths."
>
> The teaching of the Bible was put in the forefront of his educational work ; " his design was to lay the foundation of a system of education which might ultimately embrace all the branches ordinarily taught in the higher schools and colleges of Christian Europe ; but in inseparable combination with the Christian faith and its doctrines, precepts and evidences, with a view to the practical regulation of life and conduct."

For that great work Calcutta was obviously the right centre, so he ignored his instructions. The Bengali reformer, Ram Mohun Roy, lent him a room in which he at once opened a school, which ultimately developed into the General Assembly's College.

There was much to criticise in his methods. We may smile now at the thought of young Hindus studying the Westminster Confession and writing essays on justification by faith. But the ideal was magnificent and the enthusiasm of Dr. Duff seemed to carry everything before it. As the work progressed it sent a thrill of hope and fear through the whole of Hindu society in Calcutta. " All the city was stirred." A large number of the students broke away from orthodox Hinduism, a few became Christians. The old-fashioned Hindus took alarm. A quarantine flag was hoisted outside Duff's schoolroom and every effort was made to prevent boys from attending the lectures. The opposition was intensified by the outrageous conduct of some of his students. A small party of them signalized their emancipation from Hindu ideas and traditions by dining off beef and throwing large

chunks of it into the compound of an orthodox Hindu.

Writing in 1845 Dr. Duff describes the violence of the storm. "Our Institution," he says, "is still standing—standing out bravely amid the incessant peltings of a storm, which has continued to rage for two months with scarcely a single lull." The whole strength of Hinduism was mustered against Christianity and its missionaries.

"Rajas and Zemindars, Baboos and Brahmans, have all combined, counselled and plotted together. An eye-witness at one of the great Sabbath meetings, at which not fewer than two thousand were present, assured me that several hundreds consisted of Brahmans, who, at times, literally wept and sobbed, and audibly cried out, saying 'that the religion of Brahma was threatened with destruction, and that, unless energetic measures were instantly adopted, their vocation would soon be at an end.'"[1]

But the desire for English education, the influence of Ram Mohun Roy and the personality of Dr. Duff overcame all scruples on the part of the parents and the school continued to expand and flourish in spite of opposition. It seemed at one time as though the bold attempt to take by storm the citadel of Brahmanism would meet with success. A curious testimony to the impression made upon Hindu society by Dr. Duff and his work is given in a remonstrance addressed by eleven learned Brahmans "to the most intelligent, virtuous, impartial, glorious and philanthropic people of Scotland," when the General Assembly of the Scotch Church invited Dr. Duff to come home as the successor of Dr. Chalmers in 1848. The pandits spoke of "the eminently holy Dr. Carey" and other missionaries as "little stars and fireflies" appearing

[1] *Life of Dr. Duff*, by George Smith, vol. ii, p. 62.

in the vast firmament of India, "unable to dissipate the encompassing gloom." Whereas

"the Reverend Doctor (Duff) has been greatly blessed by Almighty God. His name is in the mouth of every Hindu because of his transcendent eloquence, learning and philanthropy. As to his eloquence; from his mouth, which resembles a thick, dark rain-cloud, there do issue forth bursts of incessant and unmeasured oratory; so that he fills his audience with rills of persuasive eloquence, just as the rain of heaven fills rivers, streams, brooks, valleys, canals, tanks and pools; and, dissipating the dark delusions of false religion, he makes rise on their souls the light of true religion."

Such a man, they say, was never seen in India before; and the prospect of his departure fills them with dismay. "Oh! What must be the magnitude of the sin of this people," they exclaim, "to merit such a catastrophe."

It was a magnificent work, begun and carried on with splendid faith and courage, and it has had a powerful influence on the development of higher education in India during the last eighty years. If we require a monument to Dr. Duff we have only to look around and see the network of Christian high schools and colleges spread over the whole continent. Dr. Miller in Madras, Dr. Wilson in Bombay, Mr. Noble in Masulipatam, and a host of other able and devoted educational missionaries are his lineal descendants. And the testimony of the recent Commission on the Calcutta University to the great value of mission high schools and colleges to the cause of education is certainly a justification of Dr. Duff's work and method from the point of view of the State. But the effect of it from a purely missionary point of view is more difficult to estimate. As regards the main purpose it undoubtedly failed. Dr. Duff did

not take Brahmanism by storm. Only a very few of his students caught his spirit or assimilated his ideals ; the large majority of them accepted the English education and rejected the Christian truth. The same is true of the work of his successors. Colleges and schools have been opened all over India, in which Hindu and Muhammadan youths receive Christian teaching which they have not a thought of accepting. The contact with able and sympathetic Christian teachers, nearly all of whom are enthusiasts for moral training and inspired with a deep sense of religious vocation, must count for a great deal in the education of the non-Christian students ; and the strong influence exercised upon educated Indians during the last seventy years by the example and teaching of Jesus Christ is largely due to the religious instruction received in missionary institutions.

It is, however, too often assumed, as though it were an obvious truth, that the moral tone of missionary schools and colleges must be higher than that of Government schools and colleges, simply because religious instruction is given in the former and not in the latter. It is certainly true that the Government attitude of strict religious neutrality in education cuts off one important instrument for the training of character, especially in a country like India where religion has been for three thousand years closely interwoven with the daily life of the people. But it is also true that the missionary colleges have not been able to give their Hindu and Muhammadan students a really Christian education. Christian teaching is given in missionary institutions to Hindus and Muhammadans in an atmosphere of antagonism or indifference which goes far to discount its moral

influence. A lad's character is affected by the religious truth that he sincerely believes and assimilates and not by what he hears and rejects. It needs to be remembered that the large majority, indeed all but a very small minority, of the students in missionary colleges have the claims of Christ put before them week after week and either reject them, or are indifferent to them, or are afraid to accept them. Whichever attitude they adopt, the influence on their characters is not wholly for good.

There are two spheres of education in which the Christian Church has been the pioneer and has done a magnificent work that has laid India under a great debt of gratitude.

The first is the sphere of female education. I have quoted facts in a previous chapter which show that even before the establishment of British rule a small number of girls were educated ; but their education was of a most rudimentary character, the number educated was very, very small and there was a deep-rooted prejudice among Hindus against the education of women altogether. It was not till the Christian Church took up the work that the prejudice began to die away and the education of girls advanced beyond the elementary stage. The rapid increase in the number of women educated during the last hundred years may be judged by the statistics of the Madras Presidency alone. In 1823 there were 4,540 girls in the schools ; in 1881 the total number was 32,341 ; but in 1893 the number rose to 104,988, while in 1921 it was 376,781.

And the growth in the standard of education has been even more remarkable than the growth in numbers. In 1823 girls were only taught to read and

write and do simple accounts. By 1923 large numbers had taken the B.A. degree at the universities. During the last ten years two large women's colleges have been established in Madras—the Women's Christian College and the Queen Mary College. In five years after they were opened both were full to overflowing. There are now about 130 students in the former and about 180 in the latter. The Women's Christian College has a splendid staff of tutors from Great Britain and America, the students are keen to learn, and the results in the university examinations are astonishingly good, far better in proportion than those in the colleges for men.

The same thing has happened all over India, and the result is that a class of educated women has now sprung up, who read and appreciate English literature, study western science, take a keen interest in public affairs, and are destined to play an important part in the social and political life of India in future years.

The whole credit for this great work is not by any means due to the missionary societies. A large part of it has been done in recent years by the Government, by the rulers of Native States, and, in Bengal especially, by the Brahmo Samaj. But the missionary societies led the way and the Christian Church still supplies nearly all the Indian women teachers, and a large proportion of the pupils.

The marriage customs of both Hindus and Muhammadans and the seclusion of women in both communities form serious obstacles to the progress of female education among the mass of the people. Girls have to be married before they attain the age of puberty, and after marriage in orthodox families the women of all the higher castes are not allowed to appear in

public. A few married women have in recent years become emancipated and emerged from their seclusion. But the first steps are naturally timid and a little emancipation sometimes seems to go a long way.

It can easily be understood how difficult it is to educate women under these conditions. The pupils leave school at about 12 years of age, and very few are able to continue their studies after that. The various Christian zenana missions have done a great deal of good work all over India by visiting the Hindu and Muhammadan women in their own homes, and giving them secular as well as religious instruction. But it is slow work and only a very small proportion of the women could receive even a limited education in this way. It will require a revolution in Hindu and Muhammadan society before the women of these communities can possible be educated in any large numbers.

The second sphere in which the Christian Church has been and still is the pioneer is that of the education of the outcastes or depressed classes, as they are officially called.

The Christian Church is the only body that has seriously taken in hand the colossal task of educating these outcastes and raising them up out of their misery and degradation. In imitation of the Christian Church, and in some cases through fear of its influence, various organisations among the Hindus have undertaken social service and educational work among the depressed classes. The Servants of India Society, of which Mr. Gokale was the founder and of which the Right Honble Srinivas Shastri is now the head, has done good work among them in Bombay and elsewhere ; a depressed classes mission has been started

among the Hindus in Madras and, in conjunction with various social service leagues and associations, has been instrumental in opening a few night schools. The Arya Samāj, a powerful sect of Hindu reformers in the Panjab partly religious but mainly political, has copied the methods of the Christian Church on a larger scale and with more success ; but it remains to be seen whether they will be successful in doing away with the stigma of untouchableness and giving the outcastes a real status of equality within their community. The Muhammadans in past centuries have converted millions of the outcastes to Muhammadanism in the Panjab, in East Bengal, on the Malabar coast in South West India, and elsewhere ; but though they have given them, as they give to all converts, a status of equality in the Muhammadan brotherhood, they have not attempted to educate them.

The Government have made excellent rules and regulations on paper to promote the education of the depressed classes, but they are powerless to enforce them. The fact that these classes are branded as untouchable has made it practically impossible for them to sit side by side with caste pupils in Government schools. It is true that according to the Government rules the ordinary Government schools are open to all classes alike, irrespective of caste, creed or race. But as a matter of fact outcastes are not admitted. I remember one village where a Christian of outcaste origin had the courage to assert his right to send his son to the village school, of which the headmaster was a Brahman. The boy was admitted to the school, entered on the rolls and then made to sit under a tree in the compound, while the caste boys received their instruction in the school house. Even in mission

schools it has often been a difficult matter to maintain the right of Christian boys of outcaste origin to attend the classes and sit side by side with the other pupils.

I have described in a former chapter the work that is being done by the Christian Church for the elevation of the outcastes. But I may draw attention here to the strange reversal of human judgements which the education of the outcastes involves. Ninety years ago it was the almost universal opinion among the leading missionaries in India and their supporters at home that the important thing to do for the spread of Christianity was to educate the Brahmans and high caste Hindus in the cities and towns, so that, when they were converted, Christian truth might spread out from the cities to the villages and permeate downwards from the top to the bottom of society. Experience has proved that Christianity is destined to spread in India in exactly the opposite way. The Christian Church has been steadily and rapidly built up, not in the cities and towns, but in the remote village districts and mainly among the poor outcastes.

CHAPTER 13

A CONSCIENCE CLAUSE

SO far there has been no conscience clause in India, to make religious instruction voluntary in schools and colleges that receive Government grants. Missionary schools, established with the avowed purpose of converting Hindus and Muhammadans to Christianity, have received grants from public funds both for buildings and for maintenance.

It is perhaps a little difficult for those Christian Churches, that have in times past vigorously protested in England against any grants being given to schools in which denominational teaching was made compulsory, to reconcile their principles in England with their acceptance of grants for missionary schools in India: but the position of the Government has been clear and reasonable. They have given grants for the secular teaching required by their codes to all aided schools and have had no concern with any religious teaching, which may have been given outside the code. This does not infringe in any way the principle of religious neutrality. The grants are given to the schools of all religious bodies alike with strict impartiality. The only instance in which the Government might be charged with an infringement of their policy are those in which they have built and maintained entirely out of public funds schools in which the Muhammadans are taught the Koran or

in which Hindus are taught Hindu religion and philosophy.

This policy with regard to aided schools has been of great value to the country. These schools have educated a large proportion of the total number of pupils in the schools and colleges throughout India at very small cost to the Government.

If all the mission schools and colleges were closed except those needed for the education of the Christians, either the Government would have to increase their budget for education by about thirty per cent., or many thousands of Hindus and Muhammadans, who are now educated at small cost both to their parents and to the State would be left uneducated.

It is clear, too, that a large number of non-Christian parents want their children to receive a religious education and to be under the influence of religious teachers. No doubt they would prefer their children to be taught the religion which they themselves profess; but, where this is not possible, they prefer Christian teaching to no religious teaching at all.

When I was Superior of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta we opened a hostel for Hindu university students and made no secret of the fact that our earnest desire was to teach the students the Christian faith and if possible lead them on to baptism. For every vacancy we had at least four applications, and even when the Hindu papers warned parents against sending their sons to the hostel, we could always have filled it four times over. Parents would come and beg us to take in their sons. We explained over and over again that if they sent them to us there would be a possibility of their becoming Christians. In spite of that they insisted on sending them. They cer-

tainly did not wish them to become Christians ; at the same time they did want them to be under religious influences. That, I believe, represents the feelings of a very large number of Hindu parents all over India, and it would be a real loss to them if the missionary schools and colleges were to be closed.

Nevertheless the demand for a conscience clause has been made in recent years a plank in the nationalist platform, and it will almost certainly be put forward in most of the Provincial Legislative Councils during the next few years.

The position of the Nationalists is quite intelligible. If a conscience clause is considered fair and just in England, they argue, why is it not fair and just in India ? Why, it is asked, should Hindus and Muhammadans contribute out of their taxes towards the maintenance of schools which are established in order to propagate a religion that they dislike. If Christians of one denomination may reasonably object to contribute through their taxes to the support of schools in which the doctrines of another Christian denomination are taught, is it not reasonable for Hindus and Muhammadans to object to contributing through their taxes to the support of schools and colleges in which Christianity is compulsorily taught ?

It is obviously no answer to these questions to say that the old policy of the British Government was logical and reasonable. It was natural for a Christian Government to view, not only without concern, but with favour the propagation of Christianity through institutions which they subsidised ; but now under the reform scheme the Government is to be no longer based upon the will of the Christian people of Great Britain, but upon the will of the people of India, of

whom the vast majority are Hindus and Muhammadans.

The case for a conscience clause in India is certainly a strong one: but there is a good deal to be said against it even from the point of view of the Hindus and Muhammadans themselves.

To begin with, it would be a very serious blow to education in India if the missionary schools and colleges which now educate many thousand Hindus and Muhammadans were closed. One of the leading advocates of a conscience clause told me a few years ago that he would never ask for it if he thought for a moment that such a catastrophe was even possible. But if the demand for a conscience clause in all schools that receive a government grant is pressed, I feel sure that the catastrophe is highly probable. Missionary schools and colleges are established in India for the sole purpose of giving an education on Christian principles and of training character by setting before the pupils the teaching and character of Jesus Christ. They certainly do not exist in order to give a cheap secular education to Hindus and Muhammadans. For that purpose the supporters of missionary work in Great Britain would never subscribe a penny. If then missionary schools and colleges are to fulfil the one purpose for which they exist, it is essential on the one hand that they should possess full and uncontrolled freedom in the teaching of the Bible and Christian truth and on the other hand that the students should be present when religious teaching is given.

If these two conditions cannot be fulfilled Christian teaching cannot be given, and there will be no alternative except to close all missionary schools and

colleges except those that are needed for the education of Christians.

The Legislative Councils and the Indian politicians who lead them have got to make up their minds, therefore, what they really want. They cannot have it both ways. If for financial and other reasons they want the mission schools to be maintained, they must make it possible for them to fulfil the main purpose for which they exist. If they are not willing to do this, they must be content to see the majority of these valuable institutions disappear.

It has been argued that since a large number of Hindu parents wish their children to receive a religious education they will not withdraw them from the religious instruction even in Christian schools. But it is very doubtful whether this will be the case. It is certainly true that many Hindus would much prefer that their children should receive Christian teaching than that they should receive no religious teaching at all. But whether they will have the courage of their convictions when a conscience clause throws upon them the responsibility of publicly acting on their convictions is another matter. In most towns tremendous social pressure would be brought to bear on all Hindu parents to prevent their allowing their children to receive Christian teaching and very few would be strong enough to resist it.

It is possible that a compromise may be offered by the missionary societies in the case of one special class of schools. It is admitted that there is a real grievance under the present system in places where there is only one school and where a mission school supported by a government grant holds the field and so prevents any other school from being established.

It is undoubtedly a hardship that Hindu and Muhammadan parents, who conscientiously object to their children receiving Christian teaching, should be obliged to send them to a mission school where Christian teaching is compulsory or give them no education at all.

In many cases the hardship could be removed by the starting of another school, but where that is not possible the missionaries would, I think, almost unanimously be in favour of allowing any parents to withdraw their children from the religious instruction by writing to the school authorities and stating that they did so on conscientious grounds. If the missionary societies could, as has been suggested, take this step on their own initiative, it would probably shelve the question, at any rate for a time. The finances of the Provincial Governments are not at present in a position to bear any extra burden, and no responsible politicians desire to restrict the area of education, which is far too small as it is, by compelling the missionary institutions to close their doors.

But the Christian Church has no reason to fear a conscience clause. It would be a real gain if it compelled the missionary societies to revise and change their whole educational policy. The facts stated in the previous chapters show that the education of the Christians, both Indian and Anglo-Indian, is at the present time an overwhelming task that will tax to the uttermost the resources of the Church for the next fifty years. Eighty-three per cent. of the Indian Christians are already illiterate and new converts from the outcastes of Hindu society are being gathered into the fold of the Church at the rate of 2,000 a week. Meanwhile the serious reduction of the grants to

European schools will make it increasingly difficult to provide for the education of the Anglo-Indians. Under these circumstances it is doubtful whether, conscience clause or no conscience clause, it is right for the missionary societies to expend money and labour on the education of Hindus and Muhammadans ; but if through the imposition of a conscience clause the education given cannot be in any sense of the term a Christian education, there will be no doubt as to the right course to pursue.

PART IV

POLITICS

CHAPTER 14
THE ILBERT BILL

BY 1880 the educational policy of the Government, inaugurated in 1835, had produced its natural results. A new class of Indians, educated through the medium of English, versed in English literature and western science, and imbued with British political ideals and aspirations, had come into existence. They studied the works of John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer and read Burke's speeches on Indian affairs. They were unlike any other class that had ever existed in India, and in their ideas, beliefs and ambitions were widely separated from the mass of their fellow-countrymen and even from their own families. A chosen few had been highly educated, while the mass of the people remained illiterate and ignorant, with much the same habits, customs and modes of thought that had prevailed among the Indian people for the last two thousand years. And the chosen few were almost entirely of one sex. The men went to the universities, while their wives and daughters, mothers and aunts were left uneducated. It was not a healthy state of things. The building was top heavy and had no proper foundation. The universities were built on inefficient high schools and the high schools were based on still more inefficient elementary schools. The political ideals of western democracy were superimposed upon the traditions and modes of thought

engendered by centuries of despotism and the blank ignorance of an illiterate and superstitious people. They had no background in history and no foundation in the realities of Indian life. But the British had deliberately created the situation and by 1880 the time had arrived when it was necessary to deal with it.

Sixty years before that the ablest and most statesmanlike of the Company's servants had foreseen and predicted what the inevitable goal of the policy of the British Government in India must be. Sir Thomas Munro, who was Governor of Madras from 1820 to 1827, saw clearly that a policy which aimed at steadily educating the people and elevating their characters must in the end lead them on to the goal of self-government. He looked forward to the day when "the natives shall have abandoned most of their superstitions and prejudices, and become sufficiently enlightened to frame a regular government for themselves and to conduct and preserve it."

And in a letter to Lord Canning, when he was President of the Board of Control, Munro points out that merely to give the people of India a knowledge of their own literature and of the language and literature of England would not of itself improve their character, and that the then existing system of government, by excluding natives from power and trust and emolument, was much more efficacious in depressing than all our laws and school books in elevating their character. "The improvement of the character of a people," he writes, "and the keeping them at the same time in the lowest state of dependence on foreign rulers, to which they can be reduced by conquest, are matters quite incompatible with each

other." It would have been well if these wise words had been laid to heart by the whole of the British community in India, official and non-official, during the next eighty years.

The same enlightened policy was strongly and consistently advocated by Mountstuart Elphinstone, a great friend of Sir Thomas Munro and Governor of Bombay from 1819 to 1827, and throughout his whole service an enthusiastic advocate of the extension of education.

"The system of government and education which we have already established," he wrote in 1822, "must sometime or other work such a change of the people of this country that it will be impossible to confine them to subordinate employments; and if we have not previously opened vents for their ambition and ability, we may expect an explosion which will overturn our government." He expressed these views again and again in minutes and despatches and private letters. He urged strongly the duty of a forward policy of education and at the same time was fully prepared to accept the inevitable conclusion that, "if we raise the natives to an equality with ourselves by education, and at the same time admit them to a share in their own government, it is not likely they will be content with the position assigned to them, or will ever rest until they have made good their title to the whole."

And long after he had retired from India, writing to Sir T. E. Colebrook his biographer in 1854, he says:

"The moral is that we must not dream of perpetual possession, but must apply ourselves in a manner that may be beneficial to our interest as well as their own and that of the rest of the world; and to take the glory of the achievement and the sense of having done our duty for the reward of our exertions."

Lord Macaulay held precisely the same views. His prophetic words have often been quoted:

"It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown our system; that by good govern-

ment we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may in some future age demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come, I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it—whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in England's history."

In 1880 the day had come when the influence of British Government and education had worked such a change of the people that it was "impossible to confine them to subordinate employments," and when it was necessary to find a vent for their legitimate aspirations.

And it seemed as though the British Government were prepared to welcome it as a great day of opportunity. The Conservative Government in England were defeated in that year and Lord Lytton, who was then in his fourth year of office as Viceroy, resigned with the Home Government. Lord Ripon was nominated by the Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone, as his successor and went out to India to inaugurate a forward, liberal movement of political reform. The actual achievements of his term of office were not great; but they included the repeal of the Vernacular Press Act, which "set free the native journals from the last restraints on the free discussion of public questions";[1] a scheme of local self-government which gave to educated Indians a share in the administration of municipalities and was intended to pave the way for wider powers in the future, and the appointment of an Education Commission with a view to the extension of education among the masses of the people. This liberal policy met with an enthusiastic response from the educated

[1] Sir W. W. Hunter, *Brief History of the Indian Peoples*, p. 234.

classes. I was in Calcutta during the last year of Lord Ripon's term of office and was astonished at the wonderful demonstration of popular affection when he left India. There had never been anything like it during the whole period of British rule in India. A contemporary writer says that such a demonstration " was never before witnessed in Indian history." [1] It showed the new spirit that was stirring throughout India and also the method by which it was possible for the British rulers to guide it along proper channels and co-operate with the new generation of educated men in leading India towards the inevitable goal.

Unhappily the spirit and policy of Lord Ripon were not the spirit and policy of the majority of the British officials or of the British non-official community of that day. When I arrived in Calcutta in 1884 I found that Lord Ripon and his policy were as unpopular with the Europeans as they were popular with the Indians. The view that England should govern India as a conquered country and keep it in a state of perpetual subjection was at that time widely accepted by both officials and non-officials in the European community. Sir Henry Cotton, who was himself a distinguished member of the Civil Service and during part of the time that I was in Calcutta was Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, states that this policy " was re-echoed by the whole Anglo-Indian community in their opposition to Lord Ripon in 1883," and that in 1904 it still reverberated " in every nook and corner of the Anglo-Indian press and of Anglo-Indian society." [2]

[1] *New India*, by Sir H. Cotton, p. 5.

[2] *New India*, p. 34.

The Ilbert Bill, so called after the legal member of Council who introduced it, precipitated the conflict between these two opposing ideals. It proposed to take away from European British subjects in India a legal privilege that they had enjoyed for over a century. Before the Mutiny, in the days of the old East India Company, they had not been subject in criminal cases either to the ordinary courts or to the ordinary criminal law. The ordinary courts administered, in the case of Indians, the old Muhammadan criminal law that had been in force under the Moghul emperors. But in the case of European British subjects special courts, presided over by British judges, administered the criminal law of England.

It was in those days a just and reasonable arrangement, somewhat similar to the arrangements made in modern times for Europeans in Egypt and Turkey under the Capitulations. And apart from the fact that the criminal law of a Muhammadan despotism could not justly be applied to Europeans, the special courts in India were, curiously enough, also intended to safeguard British subjects against any abuse of the arbitrary powers conferred upon the Governor-General and Governor in Council. But after the Mutiny, when the British Parliament took over the government of the Company's possessions, the circumstances completely changed. A new Penal Code was introduced throughout India and superseded both the old Muhammadan law that applied to Indians and the criminal law of England that applied to British subjects. The special courts for Europeans were abolished and their functions passed to the High Courts. And within the limits of the Presidency towns Indian magistrates were in certain

cases given jurisdiction over Europeans. But beyond the limits of the Presidency towns Indian magistrates, even if they were members of the Civil Service, had still no power to try European British subjects on any criminal charge.

This was the position before 1882, and it was evidently open to grave objections. In remote places like Assam, where there were a large number of tea planters, the expense involved in promoting a suit before a Court at a distance would alone have made it impossible for a poor coolie on a tea estate ever to prosecute his master for thrashing him unjustly. The same thing was true of other districts. If all Europeans in India could have been trusted never to abuse despotic power the grievance might have been academic, but as trade and industry developed and English capital in railways, factories and plantations introduced into India a larger number of Europeans likely to commit criminal offences, the grievance became a very real one.

There was, undoubtedly, something to be said for the European point of view, especially in Bengal. The Bengalis were experts in getting up false cases of assault or murder. Any number of witnesses could always be procured for fourpence a head, prepared to swear to anything, and unscrupulous pleaders were always available to coach them up in their parts. It was a common practice forty years ago for the imaginary crime to be acted in the presence of the hired witnesses, who then went into court and simply described in their own way what they had seen. I heard many strange stories of criminal suits during my sixteen years in Bengal and can vouch for it that the fear of false accusations was not an illusory one.

But an Indian magistrate was not more likely to be deceived in cases of this kind than a European. My own very limited experience of Indian law courts would tend to show that they were not likely to be prejudiced against Europeans. On the only occasion on which I figured as a defendant in a law court in Calcutta the case came before an Indian judge, who called me up to sit beside him on the bench, heard my account of the facts and instantly dismissed the suit without even giving the plaintiff an opportunity of stating his case!

But to many people besides myself the risk of injustice to Europeans involved in the Bill seemed grossly exaggerated during the agitation against it. If the Bill had been allowed to pass without opposition it would, probably, as Sir Henry Cotton says, "have proved innocuous and comparatively ineffective in any direction." But the European community, exasperated already by Lord Ripon's liberal policy, were unable to take a calm and dispassionate view of the matter. A violent agitation was carried on against the Bill in the public Press and on public platforms both in India and in England. Bitter things were said about the educated Indians, especially about the Bengalis, which could not fail deeply to hurt their sensitive feelings and arouse their resentment. Reckless of consequences and blind to the extreme delicacy of the British position in India, some of the Europeans indulged in a perfect orgy of abuse and seemed to revel in the opportunity of wounding the self-respect of the educated Indians. At the same time they made violent attacks upon the Viceroy personally and did all they could to weaken the respect for authority on which the possibility of maintaining peace and order

in India so largely depends. When I travelled through one of the planting districts in Assam shortly after the agitation, I was amazed to hear some of the younger planters talk about their plans for defeating the Bill. It really seemed as though they had cast all common sense to the winds.

It was truly a disaster that just at a most critical period in the history of British rule in India, when there was an urgent need of sober judgment and wise, statesmanlike views, minds were warped and feelings embittered till it became practically impossible for men on either side to see clearly the great issues of the future. And on the side of the British there lurked behind the agitation a false theory of their own position in India that was bound to bring them sooner or later into collision with the rising tide of nationalism among the educated Indians. In a speech delivered in St. James' Hall, London, at a meeting convened to protest against the Ilbert Bill, Mr. W. S. Seton Kerr, formerly a member of the Bengal Civil Service and Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, stated clearly and forcibly what he conceived this theory to be, when he declared that the Ilbert Bill, outraged

"the cherished conviction which was shared by every Englishman in India, from the highest to the lowest, by the planter's assistant in his lowly bungalow and by the editor in the full light of the Presidency town—from those to the Chief Commissioner in charge of an important province and to the Viceroy on his throne—the conviction in every man that he belongs to a race whom God has destined to govern and subdue."

We seem to hear an echo of Virgil's lines :—

"Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.
Hæ tibi erunt artes : pacisque imponere morem.
Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos."

It was the conviction of an imperial race and it doubtless played an important part in the expansion and building up of our Empire. But for all that it has been our evil genius in India. In a large number of Englishmen it simply bred a spirit of insolence and arrogance that went far to make foreign rule intolerable. To a few, doubtless, it was a source of inspiration to feel that they were entrusted with the welfare of 200,000,000 people, and it inspired them with a devotion to duty and a sense of responsibility that have not been excelled in any Civil Service in the world. In one of his speeches Lord Curzon imparted to the theory a touch of romance when he described India as standing "like some beautiful stranger before her captors, so defenceless, so forlorn, so little understood, so little known."

But however inspiring, however romantic it may have been, this ruling race theory was fast becoming an anachronism in 1883 and has proved impossible to maintain in the twentieth century. The last thing that educated India has desired or intended to do is to stand as a beautiful stranger, defenceless and forlorn before her British captors, and as we read to-day Lord Curzon's speech in which this picture is drawn, a speech delivered at the close of his great work in India, when he was finally quitting its shores after seven years of strenuous, devoted work, when he could fearlessly claim that "no Englishman ever stepped on to the shores of India who had a more passionate devotion to the country," and then turn to the events of the last twenty years, we cannot help seeing an unconscious irony in his words "so little understood, so little known." The glorious vision of a Messianic Kingdom in India ruled by a body of

Englishmen to every one of whom, "as he ends his work might be truthfully applied the phrase 'Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity,'" entirely obscured the fact that a new class of Indians had come into being with visions and ideals of their own.

Mr. Gokale, the leader of the nationalist party, a brilliant orator and a real statesman, in one of his speeches strikes a very different note, when he says:

"I recognise no limits to my aspiration for our Motherland. I want our people to be in their own country what other people are in theirs. I want our men and women, without distinction of caste or creed, to have opportunities to grow to the full height of their stature, unhampered by cramping and unnatural restrictions. I want India to take her proper place among the great nations of the world, politically, industrially, in religion, in literature, in science and in arts. I want all this and feel at the same time that the whole of this aspiration can, in its essence and reality, be realised within this Empire."

Most Englishmen would feel that Mr. Gokale's is the higher and truer ideal. Lord Curzon's picture of India as a captive maiden might have fitted the facts in 1858. It was untrue to the facts of 1900, and it presented a striking contrast to the views of the older generation of British administrators in India. There is an essential harmony between the views of Munro, Elphinstone, Macaulay, Ripon and Gokale. We can imagine all these men, if they had lived together at the end of the nineteenth century, working in perfect sympathy and in a spirit of fellowship for a common end. But when we turn to the people who agitated against the Ilbert Bill we find ourselves in an entirely different atmosphere. In their company there was no place for Mr. Gokale and the class he represented.

In many books that have been written during the last few years on the political situation in India, the

various forces and conditions in Indian society that gave rise later on to the anarchist movement in Bengal and helped to create the extremist party and the non-co-operation movement have been clearly and fully described. On those points I have nothing to add to what has already been said so well by Sir Valentine Chirol, Sir Verney Lovett and other writers. But I think that sufficient stress has not been laid as yet on the fatal consequences that followed from the attitude taken up by the European community as a whole during this agitation against the Ilbert Bill. It committed them to a false ideal of their position, blinded them to the signs of the times and made it impossible for them to work in harmony and sympathy with men like Mr. Gokale, who in 1900 represented a large, I would say by far the largest and most influential section of educated Indians. The anarchists and the extremists would probably have come into existence under any circumstances. The forces that produced them would not have been entirely crushed by anything that the British could have said or done. But what was supremely important at the end of the last century was to strengthen in every possible way the hands of the moderate party, to recognise fully and generously the reasonableness of their position, the legitimacy of their aims and aspirations and to work with them in a spirit of sympathy and trust for the achievement of the only goal which it was possible for the British people to aim at in their government of India.

It ought to have been clear even in 1883 that the ideal of Munro, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Macaulay and Ripon was the only ideal that the British public could possibly accept ; and it would have been clear

to the British community in India at that time if their minds had not been befogged by passion and prejudice. The ideal which they practically adopted was an utterly hopeless and impossible one. Russians, Germans or Turks might have accepted it and even carried it with some measure of success to its natural conclusion ; but not Englishmen. We could neither accept the ideal nor tolerate the methods needed to carry it into effect.

And given the goal of self-government as the only possibility, it was obviously the path of true statesmanship to avow the goal publicly and begin to give Indians as soon as possible the training in the arts of government and administration needed to fit them for the fulfilment of their destiny. But instead of striking out boldly along that path, British opinion from 1883 onwards moved in exactly the opposite direction. There was a distinct hardening of the ruling race theory during the next thirty years. Aspirations for self-government were stigmatised as disloyal ; even the claim of Indians to take a larger share in the government of their own country was looked upon with disfavour, until at last men like Mr. Gokale came to regard the British bureaucracy as a determined opponent of all the cherished ambitions of educated Indians. This was a disaster. It weakened the hands of the moderate party and played into the hands of the extremists, and it made the attainment of the goal infinitely more difficult than it need have been. On August 20, 1917, when Mr. Montagu made his famous declaration of policy in the House of Commons, self-government became for the first time the avowed policy of the British Parliament in the government of India. It was well that it was avowed

then ; but the avowal came forty years too late. For forty years the British in India had been sitting on the safety valve until an explosion was imminent, whereas during all those forty years they ought to have been gradually preparing the way for the reforms that were introduced in 1919. The change that took place in the tone of the British during the earlier part of this period can be judged by comparing the letters, minutes and speeches of Munro, Mountstuart Elphinstone and Lord Macaulay with the speeches of Lord Curzon. In the former the idea of self-government is constantly mentioned and discussed : it is regarded as the inevitable result of our system of government and education. As Munro insisted, the main object of our government must be to improve the character of the people, and this he maintained involves giving them independence and a share in the government.

These were the views of the older generation of British statesmen in India. But in the selection of Lord Curzon's speeches published in 1906 the idea of preparing the Indians for self-government drops almost entirely out of sight. I have not been able to find a single definite allusion to it. The word self-government does not appear in the index. There is a passage in Lord Curzon's speech before leaving India at a dinner given by the Byculla Club, Bombay, which curiously illustrates how completely the idea had vanished. He was speaking of the responsibilities of the Viceroy and said :

" I earnestly hope that the Viceroy of India may never cease to be head of the Government in the fullest sense of the term. It is not one-man rule, which may or may not be a good thing—that depends on the man. But it is one-man supervision, which is the very best form of government presuming the man to be

competent. The alternative in India is a bureaucracy, which is the most mechanical and lifeless of all forms of administration." [1]

So that the only two forms of government worth considering were a bureaucracy pure and simple, and a bureaucracy supervised by a capable Viceroy. And yet eleven years afterwards Lord Curzon as a member of the Cabinet agreed to the statement of Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons on August 20, 1917, that :

" The policy of His Majesty's Government is that of the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire."

It would have made a great difference to the history of India during the last twenty-three years if this statement had been made by the Secretary of State for India in 1900 with the full concurrence of Lord Curzon, as Viceroy. As in so many other things we did the right thing at last, but we did it too late.

[1] *Lord Curzon in India*, p. 370.

CHAPTER 15

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS

THE response to the agitation of the Europeans against the Ilbert Bill was the National Congress. Committees were formed in all the Provinces of British India and delegates were elected for the first meeting, which was held at Bombay in December 1885.

The number of delegates at this first meeting was small, only seventy-two ; but they came from all parts of India and represented a large number of different races, Bengalis, Hindustanis, Panjabis, Marathas, Parsees, Tamils, and Malayalis. Gathering together in their national dresses they were a picturesque assembly. As a visitor remarked when describing the scene : " All these men, assembled in the same hall, presented such a variety of costumes and complexions, that a similar scene can scarcely be witnessed anywhere except at a fancy-dress ball." [1]

And they formed a striking testimony to the unifying influence of British rule and civilisation. No such gathering had ever taken place or could have taken place in the past history of India. As Professor Max-Müller truly said, the Indian " never knew the feeling of nationality." He was devoted to his family and gave unquestioning allegiance to his caste ; but he never thought of India as a whole. British rule and English education had raised up

[1] Quoted in the *Hindu*, Jan. 6, 1886.

from the diverse races of India a new class of men, with new political ideals, with a common language and with the sense of a common nationality. And British civilisation had made the meeting of the Congress possible. Without the post-offices and telegraphs, the roads and railways, the law and order that the British introduced into India the organisation and assembling of the Congress would have been impracticable.

I may add that no former Government in India would have allowed a Congress of its subjects to meet year after year in order to criticise its methods of administration and demand reforms. The Congress, therefore, was essentially the child of the British Government.

The interest in the Congress rapidly spread among the educated class throughout India. The second meeting was held in 1886 at Calcutta and was attended by over 400 delegates, and when the Congress met again at Bombay a few years later there were over 1,800.

The object of the Congress was to organise the public opinion of the educated classes throughout India and give expression to their ideas and aspirations on the political and social questions of the day. Their resolutions ranged over a great variety of subjects, the methods of administration, the poverty of the people, education, emigration, the grievances of Indians in South Africa and many others. But the ultimate goal of the Congress, as described by the ablest of its leaders, Mr. Gokale,[1] was that India should be governed in the interests of the Indians themselves, and that in course of time a form of

[1] Presidential address at the National Congress in 1905.

government should be attained similar to that which exists in the self-governing colonies of the British Empire. Mr. Gokale accepted the fact that the destinies of India were linked for better or for worse with those of England, and said that the Congress freely recognised that whatever advance they sought must be within the Empire itself. And at the same time he gave to the hot-heads of the Congress a much-needed warning that the advance towards self-government could only be gradual and that at each stage it would be necessary for Indians to pass through a brief course of apprenticeship before they went on to the next.

"It is a reasonable proposition," he said, "that the sense of responsibility required for the proper exercise of the political institutions of the West, can be acquired by an Eastern people through practical training and experiment only."

The views and ideals of Mr. Gokale thus put forward were practically endorsed within fourteen years by the British Cabinet and the British Parliament, as well as by the Government of India. And what Parliament accepted as a great advance towards the better government of India in 1919 could hardly be regarded as visionary or revolutionary in 1905. Macaulay had looked forward to the time when such views and demands should be put forward as "the proudest day in English history." It was a misfortune that the British in India could not share Macaulay's feelings when the day actually arrived. The Government of India, it is true, were by no means hostile to the Congress when it was first established. It is reported that Lord Dufferin, who succeeded Lord Ripon as Viceroy in 1884, privately encouraged the idea. And the attitude of the

Government of India, described in an official statement published in 1890, when Lord Lansdowne was Viceroy, was not unsympathetic.

"The Government of India," it was said, "recognise that the Congress movement is regarded as representing in India what in Europe would be called the more advanced Liberal Party as distinguished from the great body of Conservative opinion which exists side by side with it. They desire themselves to maintain an attitude of neutrality in their relations with both parties, so long as these act within constitutional limits."

This is non-committal, but in view of the fact that the Muhammadans and the landowners stood aloof from the Congress it was the only possible attitude for the Government to take up.

The attitude of the British in India generally towards the Congress, however, was decidedly hostile. During the time that I was in Calcutta I seldom heard Europeans speak a good word for it. This was largely due to the fact that at that period all talk of self-government in India was regarded by the majority of the British as disloyal. I constantly heard the term applied even to the more moderate leaders of the Congress, like Mr. Gokale, simply because they put forward the goal of self-government within the Empire.

But whatever other defects the Congress had, it cannot in its earlier days be charged with disloyalty. Its chief promoter was an Englishman, Mr. A. D. Hume, who was a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service. After his retirement he resided in India and took a deep interest in the welfare of the people. He has been called "the Father of the Congress." For several years he acted as its General Secretary.

Another English official who took a deep interest in the Congress was Sir William Wedderburn, one of the judges of the High Court. After his retirement he was chairman of the fifth meeting of the Congress at Poona.

And the Congress through its Presidents and in its resolutions constantly gave expression to its loyalty to the British Sovereign, and its conviction that India must for its own sake remain within the British Empire.

The leaders of the moderate party in later years, when a new section of extremists arose among the educated classes, who were disloyal to the British Government, often complained bitterly both in public and private that the British could not or would not distinguish between the educated Indians, who asked for a larger share in the administration of their country as essential both to the progress and welfare of the Indian people and to the stability of the British government, and the extremists who wished to drive the British bag and baggage out of India. By tarring them all with the same brush they played into the hands of the extremists.

" If the Government can only rally the moderates to their side," said the President of the Congress in 1907, " by gradually preparing the country to take its position as a self-governing State or a federation of States under the supreme authority of England, they will extinguish the new party completely, and the ominous shadow which has projected itself over the future fortunes of the country will completely disappear."

" Is it not," he asked, " a serious blunder, which in politics, we all know, is worse than a crime, to denounce the whole of the educated class as disloyal? Such denunciations have sometimes a fatal tendency to realise themselves. I repeat we are not crying for the moon. I repeat that all we ask is that our country should take her rightful place among the nations under the ægis of England.

We want in reality and not in mere name to be sons of the Empire. Our ambition is to draw closer to England and to be absorbed in that greater Britain in which now we have no place. The ideal after which we are striving is autonomy within the Empire, and not absolute independence."

It is a tragedy that the British in India should have persisted in denouncing these ideals and ambitions as disloyal. They recognised their true character in 1919, but they ought to have done so forty years earlier. Demosthenes during the great struggle of Athens against the rising power of Philip of Macedon charged his fellow-countrymen with always being too late for their opportunities. The same charge must be laid at the door of the British in India during the last half-century. They have done the right thing but they have done it too late. It is well that the British public at home should realise this fact, because at the present time they are in danger of making precisely the same blunder with regard to the position of Indians in East Africa. There again Indians are claiming their rightful place in the Empire. I have no doubt that Great Britain will do the right thing in the end : but will she do it too late ?

It must be admitted by the warmest supporters of the Congress that like all human and especially political institutions it had its defects. Its debates and resolutions were one-sided and, though in the main moderate and reasonable in their tone, were apt to be unfair in their criticisms of the Government. The Congress was in the position of a Liberal party permanently excluded from power. If we can imagine what would be the tone of the Liberal party in England, headed by Mr. Lloyd

George and with no prospect of coming into power for at least twenty years, I think we shall be astonished at the moderation of the Indian National Congress.

At the same time the Congress undoubtedly claimed too much for itself when it professed to speak not only in the name of the whole of the educated classes, but also in the name of all the Indian peoples, and spoke as though it were the only body sincerely interested in their welfare. Even to its sincere friends the Congress often seemed to be unjust to the Government and to take too much upon itself.

But I think that what more than anything else tended to chill the sympathies of those Europeans who, like myself, heartily supported the main objects of the Congress, was the attitude of the Congress itself and the class of educated Indians that it represented towards social reform. After all the most crying evils of India are social, not political, and it is these great social ills that more than anything else have caused the poverty of the people and imposed upon millions and tens of millions of poor, helpless people untold misery and degradation. Child marriage, the ban on the remarriage of widows, the tyranny of caste, the slavery of the 50,000,000 outcastes, these are the open sores of India. And to these may be added the foolish customs that compel families to run into debt for extravagant wedding and funeral expenses. I can only speak for myself, though I feel sure that my own feelings were shared by hundreds of my fellow-countrymen in India, when I say that it was difficult to acquit members of the Congress of hypocrisy when they attacked the Government for being indifferent to

the welfare of India and laid at their door the poverty of the masses, and at the same time not only refused to touch these evils themselves, but even opposed the Government when they attempted to remedy them.

There were, it is true, meetings about social questions held annually in connection with the Congress and resolutions were passed at these gatherings on such subjects as early marriage, widow-remarriage, the position of the outcastes, etc., and a few of the Congress leaders were whole-hearted enthusiasts in the cause of social reform ; but the large majority of the delegates and the educated classes, whom they represented, were afraid of it, even if they were not actually hostile.

I had conversations on this subject with various prominent leaders of the Congress at different times, and they all said very much the same thing : " Politics unite us, social reform divides us, so we must let social reform alone." This was quite true; at the same time it was a bad position for the leaders of a reform movement to take up. Even people who sincerely sympathised with the Congress naturally asked, what will be the programme of the Congress party if they come into power ? Have they any policy for remedying the social evils of the country or are they simply demanding power for its own sake ?

The attitude of the educated classes generally towards social reform was strikingly illustrated by their agitation against a Bill that the Government of India brought in for raising the age of consent for girls, a reform that was urgently needed. The Hindu students in Calcutta held meetings of protest

at which the Bill was violently denounced as an attack on the Hindu religion. One of my students, a very mild and inoffensive Bengali Christian, happened to come across one of these demonstrations one evening on the Maidan. He was recognised as a Christian, and a mob of students attacked him and called upon him to deny Christ and abjure Christianity. When he refused they beat him on the head, felled him insensible to the ground and would probably have killed him, when a stalwart Sikh soldier came on the scene, dispersed the crowd and carried him to his own house.

The purely ecclesiastical view of this outrage was tersely expressed by Father Benson, the Superior of the Cowley Fathers at Oxford, who was staying with me at the time. When I told him the story, he listened with glistening eyes till I came to the account of the rescue, when he sank back in his chair in deep disappointment and exclaimed, "What a pity!" He evidently felt that the devil had sent the Sikh soldier to rob Bishop's College of the glory of providing a Christian martyr. Looking at the incident, however, from a political point of view it certainly revealed a very weak spot in the whole of the Nationalist Movement.

But when all deductions have been made on this account the Congress was a valuable institution. It provided a safety valve for the new spirit that was striving to find expression throughout India; it enabled the Government to know the feelings and opinions of educated Indians with regard to many important questions of policy and administration, and by putting forward its ideals for the future it prepared the way for the great constitutional changes of 1919.

When those changes were made its *raison d'être* passed away. The opinions not only of the educated classes, but of a considerable number of the illiterate people as well, now find a more constitutional and more effective expression in the new legislative councils.

But before the Reform Act was passed the Congress had begun to pass into the hands of the Extremists and finally the Moderate party were compelled to withdraw from its meetings. The split came at Surat in December 1907, when about 1,600 delegates were present, representing both parties in the ranks of the Congress. The Extremists were determined to bring forward resolutions for self-government on the basis of self-governing colonies, the boycott of European goods and national education. The Moderates were equally determined to exclude from the programme these resolutions, which they feared would compromise the Congress and lead the Government to suppress the whole movement. The battle was fought over the election of a President. The Congress Committee, composed chiefly of Moderates, put forward Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, a Bengali lawyer; and the Extremist candidate was Lala Lajput Rai, who had recently been imprisoned by the Government for sedition. Though the candidate of the Moderates was elected by a large majority of the delegates, the Extremists refused to hear him. Mr. Tilak, the leader of the Bombay Extremists, who was also imprisoned for sedition, moved the adjournment of the Congress and refused to accept the ruling of the President that his amendment was out of order. Finally there was a movement among Mr. Tilak's followers to rush the platform. A shoe was thrown from the body of the hall at the leaders of the Moder-

ates ; chairs were hurled at the platform, which the Extremists tried to rush, brandishing sticks. Finally the President adjourned the Congress, and as the disorder increased the police eventually came and cleared the hall.

CHAPTER 16

MR. GANDHI

MR. GANDHI is the most remarkable figure in the political arena of modern India. He represents more than any other man the soul of India in its revolt against the civilisation and domination of the West. He appeals to the hearts of the Indian peoples as no other man has done, probably since the days of Buddha. In the houses of educated Indians of all classes and creeds may be seen to-day portraits of Mr. Gandhi. I have seen them in the houses of Hindus, Muhammadans and Christians, Moderates and Extremists, Government servants and Non-Co-operators. Even men who strongly dissent from his political ideas, his theory of government and his views about Western civilisation, yet regard him with profound veneration ; while to the uneducated masses he is an incarnation of deity. It is not easy for a European to understand him. He seems to a Western mind so unpractical and visionary, so full of perplexing contradictions.

He was born in 1869. His family did not belong to either of the two highest castes, the Brahmans or the Warriors, but to one of the Bania or trading castes. For many generations they were connected with politics, as his forefathers had been Dewans (prime ministers) of one of the small native states in Kathiawar, which lies to the north of the Bombay Presidency. His father was Dewan of the State and a man of

singular independence of character, loved and respected by all who knew him. His mother was an orthodox Hindu, very rigid in all her religious observances and domestic duties. Her influence made a deep impression on the character of her son. When he was about twenty years old it was arranged that he should go to England to complete his education ; but before he went his mother made him take a vow to abstain while there from flesh, alcohol and sexual intercourse. This vow he scrupulously observed. He first studied at the London University and afterwards joined the Inner Temple and was called to the Bar. On his return to India he was admitted as an Advocate of the Bombay High Court and practised there successfully.

In 1893 he went to Natal and the Transvaal in connexion with an Indian legal case. There he first came up against the violent racial prejudice of the white man. In London he had mixed with Englishmen on a footing of equality. In Natal he found himself treated as a pariah. The Law Society of the Colony opposed his application to be allowed to plead in the Supreme Court on the ground that he was an Indian. The objection was happily over-ruled by the Court, but it gave Mr. Gandhi a glimpse of the feeling of the colonists in South Africa towards his fellow-countrymen. At the urgent request of the Indian community he decided to remain in the Colony to help them in the struggle for their rights, which was then impending. It would need a volume to describe fully the complex questions at issue in this struggle and the different phases of the conflict ; but the broad outlines can be briefly stated :

In 1860 the Colony of Natal was on the verge of

bankruptcy owing to the lack of labour for its plantations ; and the very existence of the Colony hung in the balance. The Natal Government applied to the Government of India to be allowed to recruit labourers in India and import them into Natal under a system of indenture. The system was a vicious one, open to grave abuse and perilously akin to slavery. It came into existence about 1834 after the abolition of slavery, in consequence of the complaints made by the former slave-owners that they were being ruined. In 1837 there was a debate in Parliament about it and the system was strongly denounced by Lord Brougham, Mr. Buxton and other leading Englishmen, and temporarily suspended. A Committee of four was appointed to enquire into the matter. Three of the members condemned it utterly, and recommended its total abolition. One suggested reviving it under safeguards. The report came before a thin House of about 150 members and the minority report of one was adopted instead of the majority report of three. So the system was revived in 1842 and after that date indentured labourers were sent from India to the Mauritius, British Guiana, Trinidad and Jamaica. And in India itself labourers were sent under indenture to the tea gardens of Assam.

Theoretically it was a system of free contract. The labourer contracted to work for the employer for a period of five years or so. The employer contracted to convey him to the estate, pay him a certain wage and give him a free passage back to his country when his term of service expired. But practically it was impossible for the labourers to understand fully what they were agreeing to. They were ignorant, illiterate people totally ignorant of the country they were going

to, the work they would be called on to do, the conditions under which they would have to live and the master whom they would have to serve. They were recruited in India by a class of men, notorious for their unscrupulous lying, who received so much for each labourer recruited and often entrapped their victims by false representations. And, what was the worst feature in the whole system, the labourers were subject, on arrival in the country, to a special law which had not been explained to them and which made even trivial breaches of their contract criminal offences. They were liable to be imprisoned for two or three months for carelessness, or even an impertinent word or gesture to an overseer. A protector of immigrants was appointed in the Colony to which indentured labourers were sent: but as a rule he belonged to the same class as the employers, mixed with them socially and looked after their interests rather than those of the labourers. The large number of suicides that took place among these indentured labourers in different Colonies is of itself an indication that there was something fatally wrong. When a system makes life intolerable to a large number of men and women it stands self-condemned. In some places the evils of the system were more glaring than in others: but everywhere outside India it had the effect of making Indians despised and of breeding among their masters something like the spirit of the slave-owner. Happily the whole system has now been abolished in India, largely as a result of the troubles which it led to in Natal and the revelations made by Mr. C. F. Andrews of the state of things among the indentured labourers in Fiji.

However, in 1860 the system was still in existence

under the authority of the British Parliament, and no blame can be attached to the Natal Government for seeking through it an escape from their difficulties.

In accordance with the contract the labourers were to serve under indenture for five years and then, if they served for another period of five years as free labourers they were entitled to a free passage back to India. But they were not obliged to return. They were left at liberty, if they preferred it, to remain as free men in the Colony. The majority of them, when their term of service expired, elected to do so. And the presence of these indentured labourers and free Indians naturally attracted a number of petty traders, shopkeepers, barbers, priests and others from India, who came on their own account to minister to the needs of their fellow-countrymen. In course of time the number of free Indians increased considerably; many of them acquired a considerable amount of property and a few merchants from Bombay established large stores in Durban and elsewhere. They also spread from Natal to the Transvaal and other States. So that by 1893 when Mr. Gandhi arrived on the scene there were according to his estimate about 51,000 Indians in Natal, of whom only about 16,000 were working under indentures and the remaining 31,000 were free. In the whole of South Africa the total number of Indians was estimated at about 100,000. And the numbers were increasing every decade.

Later on, in 1905, Lord Curzon stated in his Budget speech before the Legislative Assembly in India that from 5,000 to 6,000 Indians went to Natal every year as indentured labourers on five years' contracts and that there were at that time about 30,000 indentured

Indians working in the Colony, and about 50,000 who had either served their time under indenture or had gone to Natal on their own account.

But even in 1894 the number of Indians in Natal was rather larger than the white population. It was estimated that at that time there were in the Colony about 400,000 native Africans, 51,000 Indians and 50,000 white people. It is obvious, therefore, that if the Colony continued to import indentured labourers at the rate of 5,000 or 6,000 a year, in a short time the Indians would outnumber the white people by two to one.

It was a situation that required serious consideration. The white colonists in South Africa had already one difficult race problem on their hands, owing to the fact that the native African population outnumbered them by eight to one. They did not want to increase their difficulties by adding another race problem through the immigration of a large number of Indians, who could not be treated as Africans, and whose traditions and customs, religious and political ideals were so different to those of Europeans that it was doubtful whether they could co-operate successfully and harmoniously with Europeans in building up a civilisation for South Africa and solving the problems presented by the large and increasing population of Kaffirs and Zulus.

But the colonists had deliberately created the situation and were morally bound to accept the consequences. There were only two fair and honourable methods of dealing with it. One was to stop the importation of indentured labourers altogether. And the other was to educate the Indians, raise their whole standard of living and by generous treatment turn

them into desirable citizens, who could play a useful part in the development of the Colony. The Natal Government adopted neither of these methods. They did not want to stop the supply of indentured labour lest they should ruin the estates. They did not want to raise the Indians by education and generous treatment to anything like an equality with themselves. So they attempted to keep the Indians down, to check their natural development, prevent them from becoming a free, well-educated, prosperous community, and reduce them to the level of the Kaffirs.

As early as 1886 a proposal was made to pass a law forcing Indians to return to India at the expiry of their term of service under indenture. This proposal was strongly opposed at that time by some of the leading colonists in Natal as unjust and oppressive. Mr. Saunders, one of the commissioners appointed by the Natal Government to inquire into the Indian question in the Colony, says in his report with reference to this proposal :

> " I wish to express my strong condemnation of any such idea, and I feel convinced that many, who now advocate the plan, when they realise what it means, will reject it as energetically as I do. Stop Indian immigration and face results, but don't try to do what I can show is a great wrong. . . . The Colony can stop Indian immigration, and that, perhaps, far more easily and permanently than some popularity seekers would desire. But force men off at the end of their service, this the Colony cannot do. And I urge it not to discredit a fair name by trying."

Nevertheless this is precisely what the Colony did do a few years later. They attempted by repressive legislation to make the position of the free Indians intolerable and compel them to return to India. Among other acts of injustice they imposed an annual

poll tax of £3 on all ex-indentured labourers who wanted to settle there as free persons. All males above sixteen years of age and all females above thirteen had to pay this tax. So a family consisting of husband and wife and two daughters over thirteen years of age would have to pay £12 a year, in other words about a third of the total earnings of the family. We regarded an income tax of six shillings in the pound as the limit of endurance in England, even for persons with incomes of £1,000 a year. Imagine an income tax of seven shillings in the pound for families with an income of £50 a year! It was a monstrous act of tyranny. When its inevitable results are considered it may well be called diabolical. Families could not live when a third of their wages were taken from them in taxation. So men were driven into crime and women to prostitution, and these, too, the men and women who had saved the Colony from ruin.

The Attorney-General of Natal, who introduced the Bill which imposed this tax, had said ten years before, when giving evidence before the Commission on Indian Affairs:

> "With reference to time-expired Indians, I do not think it ought to be compulsory on any man to go to any part of the world save for a crime for which he is transported. I hear a great deal of this question; I have been asked again and again to take a different view, but I have not been able to do it. A man is brought here in theory with his own consent, in practise very often without his consent, he gives the best five years of his life, he forms new ties, forgets the old ones, perhaps establishes a home here, and he cannot according to my view of right and wrong, be sent back."

Yet ten years later the Attorney-General introduced and carried through this Bill, which was intended to

do the very wrong that he had denounced as against his conscience. No doubt, like Pilate, he washed his hands first.

About the same time the Natal Parliament passed a Bill intended to deprive Indians of the franchise they had previously enjoyed. The alleged excuse that the European voters were in danger of being swamped by the Indians can hardly be regarded as an adequate reason, in view of the fact that there were under the old law about 10,000 European and only 250 Indian voters.

Other acts of tyranny, legal and social, helped to give expression to the bitter race prejudice of the white settlers in Natal. As the *Cape Times*, the leading newspaper in South Africa, truly said :

" Natal presents the curious spectacle of a country entertaining a supreme contempt for the very class of people she can least do without. Imagination can only picture the commercial paralysis which would inevitably attend the withdrawal of the Indian population from that Colony. And yet the Indian is the most despised of creatures ; he may not ride in the tram-car, nor sit in the same compartment of a railway carriage with the Europeans ; hotel keepers refuse him food or shelter and he is denied the privilege of the public bath."

It may be added that the Indians could not walk on the public footpaths without the risk of being insulted, and according to law could not be out after 9 p.m. without a pass.

In the Transvaal their position was different, as they were not taken there as indentured labourers and their numbers were much smaller. It was estimated in 1894 that the Indian population of the Transvaal was only about 5,000, of whom 200 were traders, the rest being hawkers, waiters, and labourers, while the white population was about 120,000 and the Kaffirs

about 650,000. There was, therefore, even less reason for the Transvaal Government than for that of Natal to imitate Pharaoh and "deal wisely with them: lest they multiply." But even in the Transvaal they could not own landed property, they were not allowed to trade or live except in certain locations, which the British Agent described as "places to deposit the refuse of the town, without any water except the polluted soakage in the gully between the location of the town." They could not travel without passes and according to law were forbidden to travel first or second class. They had to pay a special registration fee of £3 to be allowed to settle in the Transvaal and though deprived of all privileges and rights of citizenship were liable to compulsory military service. It was a last straw, but only a last straw, when they were compelled by law to register themselves in the same way as criminals, by affixing their finger-prints as means of identification.

Somewhat similar conditions prevailed in the Orange Free State, Zululand and East Griqualand. And in all these places the cause of this illtreatment was the same. It was largely due to economic causes. The Indians were successful in trade. By their thrift, ability and enterprise they beat their European rivals. As the *Cape Times* frankly admitted: "It is the position of these merchants (i.e. the Indian merchants) that is productive of no little hostility to this day." It was "their rivals in trade" who inflicted on them injustice and humiliation to get rid of their competition. "The injustice to the Indians is so glaring," says the same paper, "that one is almost ashamed of one's countrymen." The wrongs of the Indians were indeed so glaring in the Transvaal that they were put forward

by the British Government as one of the reasons for the Boer War.

This was the state of things that confronted Mr. Gandhi, when he was asked in 1894 to stay in South Africa and help the Indians in their struggle against tyranny and oppression. He founded at once the Natal Indian Congress in order to organise and express Indian opinion. He acted as honorary secretary of the Congress and carried on a campaign by petitions and memorials against unjust legislation. In 1895 he went to India on behalf of his fellow-countrymen in Natal and the Transvaal to represent their grievances to the peoples of India. A mutilated version of one of his pamphlets was cabled by Reuter to Natal and aroused a storm of indignation, so that when he landed at Durban on his return, he was attacked by a European mob and nearly killed.

In 1899 the Boer war broke out and Mr. Gandhi, instead of seizing the opportunity, as an ordinary agitator would have done, to extort from the Government the promise of fair treatment for the Indians, at once suspended his agitation, and, in spite of considerable opposition, got permission to raise an Indian Ambulance Corps, 1,000 strong. The Corps went on active service and was commended for its work. Mr. Gandhi himself was mentioned in despatches. A European who took part in the campaign writing in 1911 gives the following account of Mr. Gandhi and the Indian Corps in the *Illustrated Star* of Johannesburg :

" My first meeting with Mr. M. K. Gandhi was under strange circumstances. It was on the road from Spion Kop, after the fateful retirement of the British troops in January 1900. The previous afternoon I saw the Indian mule-train moved up the

slopes of the Kop carrying water to the distressed soldiers who had lain powerless on the plateau. The mules carried the water in immense bags, one on each side, led by Indians at their heads. The galling rifle fire, which heralded their arrival on the top, did not deter the strange-looking cavalcade which moved slowly forward; and as an Indian fell, another quietly stepped forward to fill the vacant place. Afterwards the grim duty of the bearer corps, which Mr. Gandhi organised in Natal, began. It was on such occasions the Indians proved their fortitude, and the one with the greatest fortitude of all was the subject of this sketch. After a night's work which had shattered men with much bigger frames, I came across Gandhi in the early morning, sitting by the roadside, eating a regulation army biscuit. Every man in Buller's force was dull and depressed and damnation was heartily invoked on everything. But Gandhi was stoical in his bearing, cheerful and confident in his conversation, and had a kindly eye. He did one good. It was an informal introduction and it led to a friendship. I saw the man and his small undisciplined corps on many a field of battle during the Natal campaign. When succour was to be rendered they were there. Their unassuming dauntlessness cost them many lives, and eventually an order was published forbidding them to go into the firing line. Gandhi simply did his duty then, and his comment the other evening in the moment of his triumph at the dinner to the Europeans who had supported the Indian movement, when some hundreds of his countrymen and a large number of Europeans paid him a noble tribute, was that he had simply done his duty."

In 1901 Mr. Gandhi returned to India broken in health, hoping that with the end of the war a new era had arrived for the Indians in South Africa. But within two years he received an urgent telegram from Natal begging him to return. In spite of the services rendered by the Indians in the war their grievances were not redressed, and though the ill-treatment of the Indians by the Boers had been put forward as one of the reasons for the war, their position in the Transvaal was becoming rapidly worse. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies,

visited South Africa in 1896 and Mr. Gandhi took the leading part in drafting memorials to him on behalf of the Indians. In Natal Mr. Gandhi was allowed to head a deputation to him. In the Transvaal the officials refused to allow him to do so and the deputation went without him.

In 1904 plague broke out in the Indian location in Johannesburg owing to the neglect of the municipality. Mr. Gandhi organized a private hospital and nursing home and with some of his friends personally attended to the patients. For this he received the thanks of the municipal authorities.

In 1906 a serious rebellion broke out in Natal among the native Africans. So Mr. Gandhi in a spirit of true chivalry at once offered to raise a Stretcher-Bearer Corps from among the Indians. The offer was accepted after some hesitation and Mr. Gandhi headed the Corps, which was on active service for a month, was mentioned in despatches and publicly thanked and congratulated by the Governor of Natal for its valuable services. No sooner was the rebellion suppressed than the anti-Asiatic party gained the upper hand in the Transvaal and passed what is known as the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance.

Mr. Gandhi then initiated his famous movement for passive resistance that was successfully carried on for eight years. In 1907 he was arrested with many other Indian leaders and sent to gaol.

The principle for which they fought was legal equality with Europeans as regards right of entry into the Transvaal and other South African States. They were willing to have the number of Asiatics limited by administrative action, but insisted on equality in the law itself. This principle the Trans-

vaal Government resolutely refused to accept, and so raised the whole question as to the position of India in the Empire. Their recent legislation had for the first time introduced a racial and colour bar into the Colonial legislation of Great Britain and had cast a slight upon the whole of India. The passive resisters, therefore, were not only fighting for themselves, but for the 300,000,000 of their fellow-countrymen in the Motherland and for a great principle that is vital for the future unity and stability of the British Empire. The population of the British Empire is estimated at 436,752,000 : and the population of India at 318,000,000—Is it possible for 118,000,000 people scattered over the whole face of the globe to retain within the Empire 318,000,000 people concentrated in India, if they refuse them the rights of citizenship and treat them with the contempt and injustice with which they have been treated in South Africa ?

The struggle in its last phases was a fierce one. The free and indentured labourers struck all over Natal, the strikers marched in a body into the Transvaal, headed by Mr. Gandhi. The authorities endeavoured to drive them back and compel them to return to work by ruthless severity, and Mr. Gandhi was three times thrown into prison, where he suffered great hardships and on one occasion was confined in the same cell with Kaffir criminals and had to clean out the latrine. Yet, in spite of this treatment, when in 1913 the railway strike broke out which threatened to destroy the whole fabric of society in South Africa, Mr. Gandhi suspended the strike of the Indians and gave orders that his followers should support the Government till the railway strike was ended.

At last in 1913 the courageous speech of Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy of India, at Madras aroused the Government in England to a sense of the gravity of the situation created by the treatment of the Indians in South Africa and a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the question. As a result of the Report of the Commission the Indian Relief Act was passed in the Union Houses of Parliament, and this brought the passive resistance movement to an end.

In July 1914 Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi left South Africa for London and in the next year returned to India. On the eve of his departure Mr. Gandhi wrote to the Indian and European public of South Africa a letter in which he termed the settlement arrived at the Magna Charta of Indian liberty, and said that it finally disposed of all the points that were the subject matter of passive resistance; and in a farewell speech at Johannesburg he emphasised the fact that "behind that struggle for concrete rights lay the great spirit that asked for an abstract principle," the principle, namely, "that so far as the Union of South Africa at least was concerned, its legislation would never contain the racial taint, would never contain the colour disability." The practice, he admitted, would be different. The new Immigration Law, for instance, "recognised no racial distinction, but in practice they had given a promise that there should be no undue influx from India as to immigration." But while he was fully satisfied by the vindication of the principle and regarded the settlement arrived at after nine years of bitter conflict as "honourable to both parties," at the same time he said plainly that it did not give to Indians all they were entitled

to and that many grievances still remained to be redressed.

This long struggle for the rights of the Indians in South Africa forms the background of the non-Co-operation movement in India. It gave Mr. Gandhi a position of wonderful influence and authority in his own country. Without wealth or political power or military force of any kind he had fought a splendid fight for justice against the white people of a large Dominion and had won the victory. And he had won it, without striking a blow, by his faith in a great moral principle which he claimed as essentially Indian. In an address delivered before an audience of Europeans in the Transvaal in 1905 he said that " passive resistance " ought to be called rather " soul-force," just as active or physical resistance was " body-force," and he claimed that " in India the doctrine was understood and commonly practised long before it came into vogue in Europe." The idea contained in Christ's saying " resist not evil," was expressed, he said, in Indian philosophy by the expression, " freedom from injury to every living thing." " The only condition of the successful use of this force was a recognition of the existence of the soul as apart from the body, and its permanent and superior nature."

It was a great achievement to have persuaded 50,000 people, drawn largely from the lowest strata of Indian society, for the most part ignorant, illiterate, superstitious, to adopt this abstract principle and through their faith in it to undergo hardship, oppression, hunger, imprisonment, and death itself. While the battle was still being fought I said at a public meeting in Madras: " I frankly confess, though it deeply grieves me to say it, that I see in Mr. Gandhi, the

patient sufferer for the cause of righteousness and mercy, a truer representation of the crucified Saviour, than the men who have thrown him into prison and yet call themselves by the name of Christ." I believe that any Christian man or woman who calmly and without prejudice studies not merely the object for which the battle was fought, but also the weapons by which it was fought will pronounce the same judgement.

But then, think what this means! During that struggle, which for nine years riveted the attention and won the sympathy of millions of people throughout the whole of India, Indians and Europeans came into fierce conflict over a great moral principle and the Indians were right. It gave a terrible blow to the claim to moral superiority on which to a large extent the ascendancy of the British in India was founded. The men who opposed the Indians in Natal were mainly men of British blood; the legislative acts, which were the instruments of oppression, received the sanction of the English Government; the Government of India which was responsible for the system of indentured labour and when it was grossly abused waited for nine years before taking any action, or making any serious effort to stop the abuses, was a British Government, controlled by the British Parliament.

Just as the victory of Japan over Russia struck a blow at the assumed invincibility of the military power of the West, so the victory of Gandhi in South Africa struck a blow that resounded through India at the assumed moral superiority of the British.

The struggle in South Africa also served to develop and crystallise Gandhi's political ideas. His visit to

England and what he saw there of the evils of our industrial system and of the hurry and bustle of our English life, had inspired him with a dislike of Western civilisation. His experiences in South Africa intensified that dislike and led him to the conclusion that our Western civilisation is simply based on physical force. Soon after his return to India he spoke of modern civilisation as " a brute force," leading directly to war. It is, he said, " a curse in Europe as also in India." He was convinced, therefore, that the one thing needed in India was a reaction against this Western civilisation and all its works, and a return to a golden age of primitive simplicity, which he fondly imagined to be the natural product of the soul of India. So he advocated a boycott of English goods, the use of home-spun cloth, the abolition of factories and a return to the spinning wheel, the use of the vernaculars instead of English, and the reduction of " material activity," as he called it, to a minimum. The things that we regard as the instruments of progress, our railways, telegraphs, post-offices, motor-cars and factories were to Mr. Gandhi simply instruments of material activity ; and from the point of view of the prevalent Indian philosophy he denounced all material activity as " mischievous."

What Mr. Gandhi failed to realise was that the evils that he saw and rightly abhorred in English life were not peculiar either to the civilisation of England or to the civilisation of the West, though they had been intensified by the industrial revolution that resulted from the invention of the steam engine and the extraordinary development of machinery that resulted from it. But the oppression of the poor by the rich and the weak by the strong is an old story

that goes back to the dawn of human history and is common to all ages and civilisations. India certainly is no exception. The counterpart of the oppression of labour by capital in the West is the oppression of the 50,000,000 outcastes in India by the castes above them. But whereas in England Lord Shaftesbury and other social reformers were able to rouse the consciences of the people and get the worst evils of the factory system abolished, in India the efforts of social reformers have been in vain. Ranade, Gokale, Gandhi and others have denounced the social evils of India and pleaded for reform during the last fifty years, but the result of their efforts has been practically *nil*. The same evils existed in England and India alike, though in different forms, but in England there was among the mass of the people a conscience to appeal to, in India there was not. Mr. Gandhi's perverted patriotism blinded him to the fact that in India religion and philosophy had for centuries combined to create a false conscience among the people and to stereotype the evils of society. He could not see that the true enemy of the soul of India was not Western civilisation, but Indian tradition, and that the great need of India was a new religion and a truer philosophy.

Another result of his experiences in South Africa was a hardening of his theory that the use of physical force for moral ends is under all circumstances an evil. The idea is thoroughly Indian and is a natural corollary from the doctrine that all material activity is mischievous and that the supreme end of human life is freedom from action, deliverance from personal existence and absorption into the infinite and eternal. It is perhaps not exclusively Indian. A friend of mine in Calcutta was much disconcerted once when,

after he had delivered an earnest exhortation to an Anglo-Indian gathering on the duty of showing their faith by their works, he heard the hymn given out,

> " Doing is a deadly thing,
> Doing leads to death."

But in India this idea is far more widespread and affects far more the practical life of the people. One result is seen in a strong tendency to react instinctively against discipline. During the whole time that I was a member of the Senate of the Calcutta University it almost invariably happened that the Hindu members opposed the enforcement of discipline even in cases where the violation of rules and regulations was most flagrant. But Mr. Gandhi carried this idea to its extreme logical conclusion and objected altogether to the use of force by Government for the suppression of crime or the maintenance of law and order. His opposition to the Rowlatt Act, which armed the Government of India with the power needed to suppress the outbreak of revolutionary crime in Bengal, was due at bottom to this theory. So was his denunciation of the British Government as " Satanic." His ideal was a Government that entirely abjured the use of physical force altogether. In a public speech at Madras during the agitation against the Rowlatt Bill he quoted President Wilson's words at the Peace Conference when he introduced the Covenant of the League of Nations :

" ' Armed force is in the background in this programme, but it is in the background, and if the moral force of the world will not suffice the physical force of the world shall.' We hope," said Mr. Gandhi, " to reverse the process, and by our action show that physical force is nothing compared to the moral force and that moral force never fails. It is my firm belief that this is the funda-

mental difference between modern civilisation and the ancient civilisation, of which India, fallen though it is, I venture to claim, is a living representative."

In February 1916 Mr. Gandhi stayed with us for about a week at Madras. He came to speak at a meeting on Social Service in connection with the Madras Social Service League, of which Mrs. Whitehead was the President. I had not met him before, though I had been brought indirectly into contact with him when I became President of the South African League, which was formed in South India to support the cause of the Indians in Natal and the Transvaal. He was a delightful and most interesting guest and obviously a man of transparent honesty and sincerity. But his mind moves in a sphere of abstractions and is typically Indian in its indifference to concrete realities and to the intellectual virtue of consistency. He was a difficult guest at first to entertain owing to his desire for the simple life. He would eat no cooked food at that time and would not sleep under a roof. My wife was much perplexed when he first arrived to know how to feed him or where to put him during the night. However, he kindly furnished a dietary for himself and his two disciples who were with him, and arranged for his own sleeping accommodation outside a separate bungalow in our compound.

During his visit I had many talks with him on various subjects, social, political, and religious. Among others we discussed his theory that no Government should use force. He illustrated the working of it by his own practice in South Africa. He founded there an Association of Indians to further the cause of their fellow-countrymen. He himself was the head

of it. If any member offended against the rules of the Association he was not punished, but Mr. Gandhi himself fasted for twenty-four hours; and his fast meant complete abstinence from all food and drink. If the erring brother repeated the offence a second time, Mr. Gandhi fasted for two days and so on. It was evident that if the offence was repeated often enough Mr. Gandhi would die. But that fact was sufficient to bring the offender to a better state of mind long before Mr. Gandhi was in any serious danger. One day's fast nearly always sufficed. I suggested that if that method were adopted in a country like India, in a short time the whole continent would be in the hands of the criminal classes and the mass of the people would suffer unspeakable horrors. He then told me that he arrived at this theory through a study of the example of Christ. "I always," he said, "try to govern my conduct in accordance with the teaching and life of Christ. He had to deal with evil and wickedness just as we have to do. How did He act towards it? Did he use force? No. He allowed himself to be crucified. He overcame evil by suffering. That is to my mind the only right method of dealing with it." It was useless to argue with him that a great deal of our Lord's teaching was inconsistent with his theory. It was still more useless to appeal to the world in which we live as evidence that God uses physical force as an instrument of moral discipline; and utterly useless to make any appeal of any kind as to the practical results that would follow from the adoption of his theory. He maintained that "the wielding of soul-force never causes suffering to others," regardless of the fact that passive resistance in the form of a strike does cause

great suffering to large numbers of people besides the strikers. It seemed impossible for him to fix his mind on more than one point of view or one set of facts. He struck me as being a man tremendously in earnest, absolutely sincere, inspired by a lofty idealism, grasping firmly one or two great moral principles and prepared to undergo any amount of suffering or brave any amount of unpopularity for what he believed to be right ; but at the same time extraordinarily narrow in his outlook, blind to the complexity of human life, almost deliberately shutting his eyes to concrete realities and living in a world of abstractions ; a splendid prophet of neglected aspects of moral truth, but not a thinker or a statesman.

In South Africa the situation was simple and easily grasped. Gross injustice was being perpetrated and the only way for the Indians to fight against it was by passive resistance, or as Mr. Gandhi called it " soul-force." And the 50,000 Indians in Natal and the 5,000 in the Transvaal implicitly obeyed Mr. Gandhi as a leader and were true to his principles. So in South Africa Mr. Gandhi did a magnificent work for India and the British Empire.

In India, on the other hand, the situation was complex and Mr. Gandhi did not understand it. The danger of the revolutionary movement that threatened to plunge India into chaos, the organized political crime that had for years terrorised Bengal, the foreign influences that aimed at overthrowing the British Government, the deep-seated hatred between Hindus and Muhammadans, the forces of crime and disorder that lurked beneath the surface of Indian society, the need of a strong central government to maintain law and order and preserve the internal unity of India,

all this Mr. Gandhi ignored and imagined that all dangers and difficulties could be overcome by words and resolutions. He appeared to be unable to grasp the fact that the great mass of his fellow-countrymen were not actuated by the same lofty motives and ideals as he was himself.

His faith in the Hindu-Moslem *entente* is an illustration of his blindness to the realities of the situation in India. He spoke with all sincerity as though the old bitterness between the two communities had vanished and Hindus and Moslems would henceforth unite as brothers in a common effort to promote the welfare and independence of India. Within a few months after the proclamation of this *entente* the Moplah rebellion broke out in South India and thousands of Hindus were massacred by Muhammadans and thousands forcibly converted to Muhammadanism ; while in North India no fewer than five serious riots took place between the two communities, and at Mooltan the massacre of the whole Hindu population by the Muhammadans was only averted by the intervention of British troops.

In the same way Mr. Gandhi was blind, and it is difficult to defend him from the charge of being wilfully blind, to the fact that his own followers in India deliberately and flagrantly violated all the fundamental principles on which his political action was based. In England any politician who acted as Mr. Gandhi acted when it was clear that the non-Co-operation movement was being conducted by a campaign of falsehood and violence and led to rioting, coercion and bloodshed, would have been condemned as dishonest and discredited as a politician. And yet, for all that, I believe Mr. Gandhi was sincere and

only, like so many of his fellow-countrymen, suffered from a strange inability to grasp facts and realities. I believe too that all who know him personally, both Europeans and Indians, would thoroughly endorse the words addressed to him by the judge, who condemned him in 1922 to six years imprisonment for sedition, " Even those who differ from you in politics look upon you as a man of high ideals and of noble and even saintly life."

What the mass of his fellow-countrymen feel with regard to his character was expressed in eloquent language by Mr. Gokale in 1908, when he said :[1]

" Mr. Gandhi is one of those men, who, living an austerely simple life themselves and devoted to all the highest principles of love to their fellow beings and to truth and justice, touch the eyes of their weaker brethren as with magic and gave them a new vision. He is a man who may well be described as a man among men, a hero among heroes, a patriot among patriots, and we may well say that in him Indian humanity has reached its high-water mark."

It is difficult to make any comparison between Mr. Gandhi and an Englishman without seeming to ignore fundamental differences that separate them by a wide gulf : but I think that there is a strong resemblance between Mr. Gandhi and the late Lord Shaftesbury. In all the outward circumstances of their lives, and in their religious beliefs they were utterly dissimilar : but in both men there was the same intense religious earnestness, the same hatred of cruelty and oppression, the same chivalrous championship of the poor and the helpless, the same love for their fellow-men, the same stubborn determination to resist the forces of evil even when the fight seemed hopeless, the same

[1] Speech at 24th Session of the Indian National Congress at Lahore.

narrowness of outlook and the same intolerance of views that were different to their own. The words in which the biographers of Lord Shaftesbury sum up the great work that he did for England might well be applied to Gandhi :

> " This was his service to England ; not the service of a statesman with a wide plan and commanding will, but the service of a prophet, speaking truth to power in its selfishness and sloth."

What Shaftesbury did for England, that Gandhi has done for India and the British Empire.

CHAPTER 17

THE KENYA COLONY

THE dispute over the position of the Indians in the Kenya Colony threatens to become a serious menace to the unity of the British Empire. Angry as the people of India were at the unjust treatment accorded to their fellow-countrymen in Natal and the Transvaal, they recognised the fact that this treatment was not the work of the Government or the people of Great Britain. But Kenya is not, like Natal and the Transvaal, a self-governing State. It is a British Colony, directly under the control of the Colonial Office. For what is done there the British Government, the British Parliament and the British people are directly responsible.

The fact, therefore, that to educated Indians a recent decision of the Secretary of State for the Colonies seemed, whether rightly or wrongly, to be a denial of justice to the Indian community in Kenya and to inflict a stigma of inferiority on the people of India, is a serious matter. The immediate result has been to unite all parties, creeds and races in an indignant protest against the decision, to strengthen the extremist party who are agitating for immediate and complete self-government, to weaken the hands of the Liberals, who are striving honestly to work the new constitution, to add immensely to the anxieties and difficulties of the Government of

India and to strain to breaking point the bonds of loyalty that unite India to the British Empire.

A brief account of the history of the Colony will help to make the real origin and nature of the dispute more intelligible. The Kenya Colony, as it is now called, is a large tract of country on the East Coast of Africa, north of the island of Zanzibar, extending from the borders of Abyssinia and Somaliland on the north, to the borders of what was formerly German East Africa and is now the Mandated Territory of Tanganyika, on the south. On the west it extends to the Lake Victoria Nyanza and the Protectorate of Uganda. Its area is about 200,000 square miles, more than twice the area of England, Scotland and Wales combined. The principal town is the seaport of Mombasa, which has the finest harbour on the East Coast of Africa and lies about 100 miles north of the island of Zanzibar.

The population now consists of about 2,700,000 native Africans, 22,822 Indians, 9,651 Europeans, and about 8,000 Arabs.

Mombasa derives its name from a town in the Persian Gulf and was founded by a body of Arabs who fled from the kingdom of Oman to avoid religious persecution in the ninth century A.D. When Vasco da Gama was on his way to India in 1498, he called at Mombasa and found there an Arab kingdom with a flourishing trade, and among the inhabitants some Indian merchants from the Malabar Coast. The Portuguese seized the town in A.D. 1506 and held it till they were expelled by the Arabs in 1698. From 1698 till 1890 Mombasa and the coast line for about ten miles inland formed part of the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Though the British Government had great influence with the Sultan of Zanzibar from 1870 onwards, they were very unwilling to take any responsibilities on that coast or even to allow British subjects to accept concessions offered by the Sultan.

But the arrival of the Germans in 1880 altered the position, and in 1885 spheres of influence in East Africa were marked out for Great Britain and Germany by a joint commission appointed by Great Britain, France and Germany.

After that the opening up and development of the interior proceeded apace, chiefly owing to the enterprise of Sir William Mackinnon, the Chairman of the British India Steam Navigation Company, who in 1887 formed the Imperial East Africa Company. The Charter was granted in 1888 and the Company extended its operations as far as Uganda, north of Lake Victoria and south of the Sudan. By 1891 it had also acquired from the Sultan a lease of the whole of the coast line up to the borders of Somaliland. In 1895, after the death of Sir William Mackinnon, the Company was dissolved and surrendered its Charter to the Crown. From that date the Protectorate was administered by the Foreign Office till 1905, when it was transferred to the jurisdiction of the Colonial Office.

In 1896, the year after the surrender of the Company's Charter, the railway was commenced from Mombasa to the Lake Victoria Nyanza. It is an illustration of the nature of the country in the interior to the west of the coast line, that the work was delayed for quite a considerable time by the lions of Tsavo. It was finished in 1903.

The railway has been an immense boon to the

country and a powerful agent of civilisation; but so far as the race problem is concerned it was the beginning of troubles. It brought upon the scene the two parties concerned in the recent dispute. Before 1896, as we have seen, there were a few Indian traders in Mombasa and on the coast; but they did not penetrate into the interior. They were a well-to-do class and under both the Arabs and the Portuguese for more than four centuries did good service in developing the trade of the country, and were a valuable section of the population. But unfortunately in 1896 the Government decided to build the railway by Indian labour and imported from India about 20,000 coolies, belonging to the lowest castes, and with them a number of clerks, artisans, petty traders and shopkeepers needed to supply the wants of this large body of immigrants. Then the same thing happened in Kenya as had already happened in Natal. When their term of service on the railway expired the large majority of the Indians elected to remain in the country. They had been uprooted from their villages in India and accustomed to a new environment, and it would have been difficult for them to return. It is hard to understand why the Foreign Office asked for trouble by importing 20,000 Indian coolies into the country with the warning of Natal before their eyes. The trouble there, as we have seen in the previous chapter, was due to the fact that a large body of Indians were imported under indenture for economic reasons, and stayed on when their term of indenture had expired. The racial conflict between Europeans and Indians in Natal began in 1894, and it had reached an acute stage in 1896. The Colonial Office were in 1896 actually dealing with the problem; and yet in that same year

the Foreign Office deliberately created precisely the same situation in Kenya, with precisely the same results.

When the railway was completed it brought into the Colony in addition to the Indians a large number of Europeans. Passing through the plateau that lies between the coast and Lake Victoria Nyanza, it opened up a fine tract of territory on the highlands with a climate suitable for European settlement and a fertile soil that would well repay cultivation. So in 1902 a number of Europeans applied for grants of land, and a British syndicate obtained from the Government a concession of about 500 square miles. Next year several hundred settlers arrived and occupied the highlands. The Foreign Office, which then controlled the Colony, stopped all further grants; but nearly all the available land suitable for white people had already been given to the syndicate.

The lists were then set and the racial conflict began. But the first trouble was not due to any dispute between the Europeans and the Indians, but to the attitude of the settlers towards the Africans. There was constant friction with the British officials in the Colony over the question of forced labour. The officials held rightly that their main duty was to safeguard the interests and promote the development of the natives. On the other hand the settlers were strongly of opinion that Kenya could be and ought to be a white man's country, that their interest ought to come first and that the native Africans should be compelled by the Government to work for them on low wages.

The white settlers have made their opinion on this point abundantly clear. One of their leaders, Major Grogan, in his book *From the Cape to Cairo*, published in 1900, stated that a good system of compulsory

labour, combined with a low rate of pay fixed by Government, is essential for the development of Africa and would do more in five years to educate the Africans "than all the millions that have been sunk in missionary effort for the last fifty." It would be unfair to assume that these views are held by all the European settlers in Kenya to-day. But recent utterances of some of their leading representatives show that the desire for compulsory labour is widely prevalent among them.

In accordance with these views the white settlers as a body put great pressure on the Government to institute forced labour in Kenya; and their attitude towards each successive Governor was mainly determined by his opinions on this point. When, in the euphemistic language of one of the settlers, "labour was provided" they were satisfied. If it was not provided, they used all their influence to have the Governor recalled. Their efforts were so successful that the local Government at one time yielded to the demands of settlers, and when the Africans refused to work for low wages compelled them to do so by administrative "pressure."

It is true that during the recent discussion of the Indian question all parties, including the white settlers, agreed that the interests of the native Africans must be paramount, and this was declared by the Secretary of State to be the fundamental principle that must govern the administration of the Colony. But before 1923 that was not the view of the white settlers. Their aim, constantly and emphatically declared, was to make Kenya a white man's country with the Africans kept in a state of subjection.

A study of the political history of the Colony during

the last fifteen years shows that this crucial question of the supply of cheap labour for the European estates has dominated the whole situation. It was the cause of the friction between the European settlers and the officials in the early days of the Colony; and it was the main reason that led the settlers to agitate against the existing form of government, which gives the Governor and his Executive Council an official majority and enables them to resist the will of the settlers in the Legislative Council. When it was obvious that public opinion in England would not allow the local Government or the Colonial Office to continue the system of forced labour, the settlers agitated for "responsible Government," with a view to making Kenya, like Natal, a self-governing Dominion. What "responsible Government" meant in this case was that the elected representatives should be responsible to an electorate of about 6,000 Europeans out of a mixed population of about 3,000,000.

In South Africa and elsewhere self-governing Colonies had been formed on these lines in the nineteenth century, with the result that small bodies of Europeans governed and exploited large native populations. But in this case a new factor intervened. There were 25,000 Indians to be considered. If there was to be a franchise, an elected majority in the Legislative Council and responsible government, the Indians, who paid a much larger share of the taxes than the Europeans and outnumbered them by three to one, claimed to be properly represented. And whereas the Africans were dumb and helpless, the Indians were vocal and had behind them the Indian Empire.

The Indian claim, therefore, stood between the

interests of the native Africans and the ambitions of the white settlers, and though the immediate question that had to be settled in the late controversy was the claim of the Indians, the ultimate and more important question that lay behind it was the welfare and development of the Africans.

Looked at from that point of view the dispute assumes a different complexion. With regard to the important question of the franchise, for example, it is undesirable that the political control of Kenya should pass into the hands either of the Europeans or of the Indians. The only way to secure the rights of the Africans is by the administration remaining in the hands of the Imperial Government.

But when the Colonial Office partially gave way to the agitation of the white settlers and, by establishing a Legislative Council, took a step which led in the direction of full representative government, they inevitably gave the impression that the political issue of the immediate future would be a struggle for supremacy between the white settlers and the Indian immigrants.

And Europeans and Indians alike looked at the question of the franchise from this point of view. It was a struggle between two claimants for political power. In an official memorandum stating the European case it is asserted that the Indian claim was " for absolute equality with the Europeans, *as a step to complete supremacy* " (the italics are mine). But there ought to have been no question of either Europeans or Indians having any form of political supremacy complete or incomplete. It should have been made clear that political supremacy and legislative power rests ultimately with the British Parlia-

ment and is delegated by them to the local officials. The Council should have been called, what it really is, an Advisory and not a Legislative Council. And if the reasonable proposal of the Government of India,[1] that all persons who had already been given the franchise should retain it, but that for the future there should be a common property and educational test for both the European and the Indian electors, had been adopted, it is unlikely that either party would have thought it worth while to agitate on the subject. Not more than 10 per cent. of the Indians under an arrangement of this kind would have received a vote and the Europeans would still have retained a considerable majority in the electorate. But both parties would have been sufficiently represented to enable them to put forward their views and press their claims to consideration in an Advisory Council.

The same is true of the question of the restriction of immigration. The Europeans claim the unrestricted right of immigration for themselves and the restriction of Indian immigration, because they are afraid that a large increase in the number of Indians will upset the balance of political power. But if the welfare of the Africans is the paramount consideration, the immigration of both Europeans and Indians alike ought to be carefully regulated and restricted. The experience of South Africa is sufficient to prove that to create a dominant white population fatally hinders the due development of the natives. And the experience of the neighbouring protectorate of Uganda and of other parts of Africa serves to show that the true line of political development among the native Africans for

[1] See Despatch of Government of India to the Secretary of State for India, Oct. 21, 1920.

many years to come will be through their own tribal organisation and not through Western institutions.

But the larger the foreign population becomes the more difficult it will be to govern the country through native institutions. If the white population grows from 6,000 to 20,000 the demand for an English system of government will be overwhelmingly strong. And to establish our English system of representative government, dominated by either Europeans or Indians or both together, in a country like Kenya will put an insuperable barrier in the way of the political development of the Africans.

Apart from the two important questions of the franchise and the restriction of immigration there are two other demands of the Europeans which have aroused strong protests on the part of the Indians:

(1) That Indians in the towns, and, where practicable, in the country also, should be segregated in residential areas.

(2) That the Government should forbid by law the alienation of land in the highlands from Europeans to Asiatics.

The demand for segregation was made on sanitary and moral grounds. In the statement of the European case it is urged that " the views of the bulk of the local Indians on sanitation and hygiene are worse than primitive and, particularly in a tropical country, their proximity to European residential areas is fraught with the greatest danger to the latter community."

I fully endorse what is said about the primitive ideas of the majority of the Indian people on sanitation. After living for nearly forty years in a tropical country in very close proximity to Indians I can sympathise

with the feelings of the Europeans in Kenya on this point.

Mr. C. F. Andrews, who is a whole-hearted advocate of the Indian cause in Kenya, writes very frankly on the subject :

" In this matter of sanitation," he says, " I would at once allow, without offering any excuse whatever, that there is much that is lacking in the general cleanliness of an Indian quarter in East Africa ; and, as it is a matter chiefly of personal cleanly habits, Indians themselves are to blame. I am not speaking or judging by hearsay. The conditions that I have seen with my own eyes have convinced me of this. . . . I can see clearly, after my present visit, that these uncleanly habits are all the more serious a fault in East Africa, because the townships which are now springing up are all new ; and nothing can be worse than to start newly rising townships with filthy conditions. The danger of plague or smallpox, or some other highly infectious disease, which might sweep away the Native population is no slight one." [1]

But while he writes very strongly about the insanitary personal habits of the Indians in Kenya, he also condemns " the fundamental injustice in municipal government, by which the European quarters are given all that is best in the way of good lighting and good roads and good drainage, while the Indian quarters are shamefully neglected." He rightly says that it is a scandalous thing that the Indians, who pay in the towns the larger share of the taxes, should be deprived of all elective representation on the municipal councils, and then that a totally disproportionate share of the taxes should be spent on improving the European quarters.

My own experience in India also strongly confirms his plea that, while it is true that a large number of Indians, especially those of the lower castes, are very

[1] The *Indian Review*, July, 1923, p. 40.

insanitary in their habits and keep their surroundings in a filthy condition, at the same time they are not incorrigible. He refers, as an illustration, to an estate he saw in Ceylon where the Tamil coolies from South India, who have a reputation on the island for being incorrigibly unclean, were living in perfectly sanitary dwellings. This was simply due to the fact that their employer had built them proper huts with neat and tidy surroundings and had taken the trouble to have his coolies educated in sanitary matters.

I could give many similar illustrations from my own experience in India. One will suffice. A village, inhabited entirely by outcastes, as a rule the dirtiest section of the Hindu community, was situated at the back of my own compound in Madras, about a hundred yards from the house. It was in a filthy and disgusting state from a sanitary point of view. This was partly due to the neglect of the Municipality. There was no latrine in the village and no civilized arrangements of any kind. But it was mainly due to the uncleanly habits of the people, who contentedly acquiesced in this state of things. A few years ago social work was started in that neighbourhood, including simple teaching on sanitation. In about two years the village had been transformed and became a striking example of what an outcaste village in an Indian city might become if only the poor people are properly cared for. It is entirely a question of education, strict sanitary regulations, proper supervision and an adequate expenditure of municipal funds on the poorer quarters of the town. To provide this for the vast population of 300,000,000 in India is a gigantic task : but it ought not to be impossible to provide it for a small body of 20,000 Indians in Kenya.

From my experience in India, too, I am strongly inclined to agree with Mr. Andrews that in Kenya segregation is no remedy, but on the contrary will intensify the evil. It has been tried in India upon a large scale in the case of 50,000,000 outcastes and has been from a sanitary point of view a complete failure. It creates in every city, town and village seed plots of disease.

In the despatch of the Government of India quoted above, it is also pointed out that the schemes of segregation advocated in commercial and business areas in Nairobi and Mombasa are irrational and unpractical, and the despatch states that both the Development Commission and the Chamber of Commerce in Uganda were both opposed to segregation.

At the same time I think that educated Indians ought to make allowance for the feelings with which Europeans, and especially Englishmen, regard insanitary habits. The high-caste Hindus have exactly the same feelings towards the fifty million outcastes in India itself, and segregate them in separate areas in every town and village. I feel sure that both in India and Africa it is a mistaken policy ; but the high-caste Hindus have set the example in their own country and cannot with any consistency complain if the Europeans in Africa follow their example. If segregation inflicts a stigma on Indians in Africa, so it does on the outcastes in India ; and the outcastes are as much British subjects in India, as the Indians are in East Africa. While, therefore, we may condemn the British in East Africa for following the bad example of the Indians, it is not for the Indians to protest against their action.

The second demand, that the Government should

forbid by law the alienation of land in the highlands to Asiatics, seems unnecessary. Nearly all, if not all, the land in the highlands available for European settlement has already been granted by Government to Europeans. They have only to refuse to sell it to Asiatics and it will remain the property of Europeans. If they do not want Asiatics in the highlands the matter is in their own hands. And very few Indians would want to settle there. The despatch of the Government of India quotes the example of Natal to show that legislation on this point is unnecessary. There is no law in Natal forbidding Indians from acquiring agricultural land. There are more than 100,000 Indians of the agricultural class in that Colony, many of them well-to-do. There is a great demand among them for land on the plains, near the coast; but hardly any demand for land in the uplands. The few Indians who have bought farms in the uplands have generally failed.

It is not clear, then, why the Colonial Office has thought it necessary in this matter to impose a racial restriction upon Indians. It is obvious that legal restrictions of this kind arouse strong feeling in India and weaken the bonds that unite India to the British Empire. There are very strong reasons against any legislation of the kind and it can only be justified by imperative necessity. But what necessity exists in this case? Lord Milner stated in 1920 that the European settlers are confined to a comparatively small area, since only the highlands are suitable for Europeans to live in, while the Indians enjoy a virtual monopoly of a far larger tract of country in the lowlands, which are only suitable for India settlement. But what are the facts? The whole of the highlands

have been granted to Europeans, and almost the whole of the lowlands, reserved for alienation, has already been alienated to Europeans as well! In the map supplied to the Government of India by the Governor of Kenya, it was shown that in the lowlands 11,859 square miles have been alienated by Government to Europeans, while the total amount held by Indians is only 32 square miles, out of which 21 square miles have been purchased from Europeans and only 11 square miles granted by Government. It is difficult to understand how in view of these facts Lord Milner could have stated that the Indians have a monopoly of the alienated land in the lowlands, and on that ground justified their exclusion by law from the highlands. The Government of India rightly argue that if, as Lord Milner says, it is merely a question of climate, it should be left for the climate to decide. Special legislation on the subject is as unnecessary as it is offensive and dangerous.

A study of the whole controversy, especially of the statement of the European case by the Europeans themselves and the speeches and writings of their leaders and advocates, leads to the conclusion that the European settlers have been throughout unfair and unjust to the Indians. Their unmeasured abuse of the Indians during the controversy has been inspired by a prejudice which makes them blind to obvious facts and lacking in all sense of proportion. The statements made as to the evil influence of the Indians upon the Africans in the Colony are not in accordance with the opinions on this subject expressed by experienced administrators and other Europeans who have had a long and wide experience in Kenya and full opportunities of knowing the facts.

It may be freely admitted that the influence of some of the Indians upon the Africans is demoralising. The statement of the Commission that " the Indian is the inciter to crime as well as to vice," is probably quite true of a small minority. Wherever a race of more advanced civilisation comes in contact with an uncivilised race, they bring with them the vices of civilisation as well as its virtues, and the savage is more apt to imitate the vices than the virtues. The record of the European traders in the South Sea Islands in this respect is not a creditable one. And we need to remember that even where the Europeans are themselves high-minded, honourable men, anxious to promote the moral welfare of the uncivilised men and women in their employment, the system under which they work often produces appalling moral evils. That was the case on the sugar estates in Fiji. The evidence, collected there by Mr. Andrews, with regard to the vices inherent in the system was so strong that the Government of India felt constrained to put a stop to the system of indentured labour altogether.

There is reason to fear that this is the case on some of the European estates in Kenya itself. A writer in the *International Review of Missions* (April number, 1919), who adopts the *nom de plume*, Fulani bin Fulani, with an intimate experience among the Kikuyu tribes of British East Africa for more than half a generation, gives the following account of what he has himself seen of the moral deterioration that has taken place year by year among the African labourers employed on the estates :

" There is no surer sign of social disintegration than for the marriage tie to become unstable among the mass of the people. In the mixture of men of different tribes in European employment

in British East Africa the customary union is by the month. The African men and women arrange such unions by themselves, the women receiving clothing, food and money (part of which is often sent to her family), and serving her master at bed and board. These unions may last indefinitely for months and years. They do not exist among ordinary temporary labourers. For them there exists an immense class of prostitutes, a totally new feature in African life. But most of the men, who have taken more or less permanently to wage-earning under Europeans, have women of their own. Their industrial life being precarious, their liabilities to their women are correspondingly restricted. They have no wives, as they have no homes. They get their wages at the end of the month, to travel for days, perhaps, to other masters, and so they marry for a month. These unions have no sanction in native law, or our own. As is inevitable children are rare, diseases are common. But such unions are not felt to be disgraceful, as by many prostitution still is felt to be. The system fits the life. The State may some day awaken to the fact, that it is manufacturing disease faster than any conceivable means of prevention can overtake it."

This account, from a reliable and competent witness, shows that the European economic system may be far more "inimical to the moral and physical welfare of the natives" than the presence of the Indian.

In the same way, while it is doubtless true that the Indian traders exploit the ignorant Africans and get the better of them in their bargains, we must confess that this is what the white man has been doing on a far larger scale in Africa and elsewhere for the last three hundred years. And in view of the candid statement quoted above about the exploitation of the Africans by means of compulsory labour, the Europeans in Kenya are hardly in a position to throw stones at the Indians.

We may set aside, then, these attacks on the Indian community on the ground of their evil influence on the physical and moral welfare of the Africans or on

their economic and industrial progress. They are double-edged weapons.

We may also discount the warnings that have come from many quarters against the danger of the political supremacy of the Indians. The Indian leaders have again and again emphatically disclaimed any desire for political control of Kenya. The real danger to the welfare and development of the Africans has been the domination of the Europeans. But unless the British Government is false to its trust, neither Europeans nor Indians will gain political supremacy.

The one question that needs our careful and serious consideration is the principle for which Indians are contending both in Kenya and in South Africa. We must bear in mind that India to-day can no longer be treated as a conquered country and her people as a despised and inferior race ; and that if India is to remain within the British Empire it must be upon terms consistent with her dignity and self-respect. We must speedily make up our minds whether we wish to keep India within the Empire or not. If we do, we must firmly refuse to allow any legislation to be passed or settlements to be made in the Colonies and Protectorates under the direct control of the British Government, which discriminate against Indians and makes them feel that they are treated as aliens and outcastes. And the whole force of public opinion in Great Britain must be directed strongly against the racial pride which so often wounds the sensitive feelings of the people of India. What Mr. Gandhi demanded again and again on behalf of the Indians in Natal and the Transvaal was " that there should be no legal racial inequality between different subjects of the Crown." And the same demand lies

at the root of the whole trouble in Kenya. The Indians have insisted upon it, the European settlers have violently resisted it even to the point of threatening rebellion against the authority of the Crown, and the Colonial Office has made a compromise which sacrifices the principle at stake. And yet it is the only principle upon which we can keep together an Empire that can include the India of the future.

CHAPTER 18

SOCIAL RELATIONS

WHEN I met M. Clemenceau during his visit to India after the Great War he strongly criticised our social aloofness from Indians, and contrasted it with the freedom with which the French mix with the people of their North African Colonies and the Dutch with the natives of the Indian Archipelago. He recognised that this freer social intercourse had its dangers and disadvantages and did not approve of a Dutch Governor having a Malay wife to preside over Government House in one of their settlements. At the same time he evidently felt that politically our social exclusiveness was a source of weakness. And I am sure that he was right. It is true that in the early days of the Company when social intercourse between Europeans and Indians was much freer, it often took very undesirable forms. Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta, married an Indian wife, whom he rescued from the pyre on which she was about to be burnt alive after the death of her Hindu husband ; and when she died he sacrificed a cock every year at her tomb. And many Europeans formed alliances with Indian women of a less respectable character.

But this freedom of social intercourse promoted a kindly feeling on both sides, which from a political point of view was of great value. I had a conversation on this point in 1884, a few months after my arrival

in Calcutta, with Pundit Shiva Nath Shastri. He was not a politician but a religious leader, a man of great ability and wide outlook, not at all anti-English in his sympathies. But he spoke very strongly about the widening gulf between Europeans and Indians in recent years. He said that about forty or fifty years before that time, between 1830 and 1840, there was a very kindly and paternal relationship between them. The European official or merchant would occasionally visit the homes of the Indians employed under him, make presents to the children and give a small dowry to the daughter on her marriage and generally act the part of a patron ; but as the Indians became more educated, they began to assert rights, and then the Europeans at once lost all sympathy with them and treated them as a pushing, conceited race.

There were other reasons which tended to widen the gulf. In the old days, when it took from four to six months to travel from England to India, Europeans seldom went on leave and spent from fifteen to twenty years in India without returning to Europe. Naturally they settled down much more in the country, learnt the language of the people among whom they lived and made India their home. Also the large increase in the number of English ladies who came to India in the days after the Mutiny, while it raised the standard of morality among Europeans, made social intercourse with Indians more difficult. European society became more complete and self-sufficing and the seclusion of Indian women, both Hindu and Muhammadan, and the attitude towards women which it implied, made it impossible for English and Indian families to mix on terms of equality. If an Englishman introduced an Indian gentleman to his wife, the

Indian gentleman could not return the compliment. And there was much to be said for the point of view of the Englishman who protested, " if Indians have so low an opinion of women that they shut them up, why should I introduce them to my wife and daughters ? " and still more for the point of view of the Englishman who objected to Hindus and Muhammadans dancing with English ladies.

Then again, the excessive centralisation of the Government during the last quarter of the nineteenth century tended in the same direction. In earlier days the district official exercised a patriarchal jurisdiction over his district and had time to go about freely among the people. But as the organisation of government became more elaborate and highly centralised, he became to a large extent a cog-wheel in a piece of machinery. His time was taken up with interminable reports and his office table every morning was filled up with letters and files. It was all done in the interests of efficiency, but it may well be doubted whether it made the government more efficient. Personality in India tells far more than machinery, and no improvement in organisation could compensate for the sacrifice of the personal tie between the district officer and the people.

But while these changes contributed to make social intercourse between Europeans and Indians less frequent, undoubtedly the main cause was the resentment of the Europeans at the claims of the new class of educated Indians.

A few years ago Mr. Gokale, the ablest leader of the Nationalist party, was talking to my wife and me on this subject and he strongly maintained that social relations between the two races never could be satis-

factory until the political problems of India were settled on right lines. Social equality, he said, involves political equality. And I think that this is true. Undoubtedly the fact that the British have regarded India as a conquered country and Indians as a subject people has made social relations with them very difficult. The oft-repeated saying, " We have won India by the sword and must keep it by the sword," naturally led the British to adopt an attitude towards Indians which could not fail to wound their self-respect. When I first went to Calcutta it was still the custom in some parts of North India for Indian gentlemen to dismount from their horses when they met Europeans and make their humble salaams before remounting. And in a few cases this attitude of superiority led to unpardonable rudeness. In a book entitled *Leaves from the Diary of a Sportsman and Soldier*, Brigadier-General Gerard records some amazing instances of this among military officers. In one case a young officer compelled a landowner of good position in North India to shampoo his legs in a railway carriage ; in another an officer, who was put into a carriage with an Indian gentleman, kicked him out on to the platform as the train was moving away from the station. And these acts of rudeness and insolence were not confined to young military officers. Civilian officials would often keep Indian gentlemen waiting in their verandahs for a long time before granting them an interview ; and when they came into the room would not offer them a chair. An Indian, who occupied a good position in a town in South India and was not in Government service, went to pay his respects to the Collector of the district who was there on tour. After being kept waiting for about an hour he was ushered

into the presence of the great man, who simply looked up and said curtly, " Well, what do you want ? " " I came to pay my respects," replied the visitor and at once left the room.

I have known instances even at Government Houses, both in North and South India, in which English ladies, the wives of British officials, have refused to be taken in to dinner by Indians of high position and unimpeachable character. As the Indian gentlemen in question were my own friends I can vouch for it that this exhibition of ill-breeding was absolutely inexcusable.

Incidents of this kind were exceptional and it would be very unfair to regard them as typical of the behaviour of Europeans as a whole towards educated Indians. At the same time they occurred more frequently than they ought to have done, and would not have occurred at all unless the general attitude of the British towards Indians had been that of superiors towards inferiors.

This attitude of superiority was very obvious in Calcutta when I first arrived there, and I constantly referred to it in my letters home. " I notice painfully," I wrote in December 1884, " how that as a race we have entirely failed to gain the hearts of the natives, and we are, I believe, losing rather than gaining popularity. The English despise the natives and take no pains to conceal it, and no people like being despised."

About that time there appeared articles and letters in the *St. James' Gazette* and other newspapers in England sounding a note of alarm with reference to the possibility of the Russians invading India and raising a rebellion among the Indian peoples against

the British Government. What I wrote on this subject after a year's experience of Indian politics needs hardly any modification to-day. But I quote it now to show the impression made upon me at that time by the general attitude of my fellow-countrymen in Calcutta towards educated Indians and the political danger which it involved.

"There seems," I wrote on February 3, 1885, "an uneasy feeling springing up at home about India; but none of the papers seem to me to go to the root of the matter or to see the real source of danger. No class of people here would wish for an instant to exchange English for Russian rule. None of the Hindus would like to be ruled by Muhammadans, and no Muhammadans would submit to be ruled by Hindus. And it would be absolutely impossible at present for the two to work together on a footing of equality. Our position would be perfectly impregnable, if only the English here as a body could cultivate a little sympathy with the people and would not show in their dealings with them, what I once heard Arthur Sidgwick aptly describe as 'the damned nigger feeling.' When you remember that 99 out of 100 Englishmen out here would scarcely condescend to eat with a native Christian, and that it is only lately that even missionaries would admit them to their tables, you will appreciate the wide gulf that separates us from the people. The result is that our rule is only acquiesced in for the present because it is seen to be inevitable; but every step we take towards educating the people and training them in the power of self-government makes our position more precarious. The only real danger, I think, lies in our want of sympathy with the people."

At the same time the obstacles to social intercourse between Europeans and Indians are by no means all on one side, nor are they due entirely to the political relations between the two races. The fact that Hindus will not eat and drink with Europeans at once rules out most of the social functions with which Europeans are familiar. There was a function, which some of our orthodox Indian friends called "sit-and-see-you-eat," to which they sometimes consented to come at our house in Madras. A few, who were hovering on the verge of liberalism, would even eat vegetables and biscuits and drink soda-water. We were puzzled at first when we found that they would not touch rice, till we discovered that the Tamil phrase for taking a meal was "to eat rice." So when our friends went back to their families and were asked by their mothers, aunts and wives, "Did you eat rice at the Bishop's house?" they could answer with verbal exactitude "No." But this was not quite satisfactory as a method of entertainment either from a social or a moral point of view.

The growth of athletics among Indians during the last forty years has done more than anything else to promote social intercourse between the two races and has provided the best forms of entertainment. An Englishman is essentially a sporting animal and feels respect for any man of any race who can compete with him in any form of sport on equal terms. When I first went to India there were no Indian athletic clubs of any kind in Calcutta. When the Oxford Mission started football in a small boarding school for Indian Christian boys that they established, it was looked upon by the parents as a very dangerous innovation. Later on our little club acquired the proud

title of "the Mother of Bengali football." Sixteen years afterwards when I left Calcutta, there were a large number of football, cricket and hockey clubs, and Indians had begun to play lawn tennis with considerable skill. Two incidents stand out in my memory as illustrations of the effect that this growth of athletics produced upon the attitude of Europeans towards Indians. On one occasion our Bishop's College football team was playing against a team of the Shropshire Light Infantry who were stationed at Fort William. A stalwart Tommy was running down with the ball towards our goal and preparing for a shot, when our back, a young Tamil student half his size, charged him and bowled him clean over. His face as he sat up was a study. It reminded me irresistibly of Bret Harte's lines in "The Heathen Chinee":

> "Are things what they seem or are
> visions about?
> Is our civilisation a failure and
> is the Caucasian played out?"

After that little episode the soldiers treated our boys with much greater respect than they did to start with.

On another occasion an Indian team came from the Anglican Mission in Chota Nagpur to compete for the Hockey Challenge Cup in Calcutta. They belonged to an aboriginal tribe and had taken kindly to hockey because they had a native game of their own which faintly resembled it; only the goals were the villages from which the competing teams came and the ground was the intervening country. They amused the Europeans very much when they came on the ground with their bare feet and the brightest coloured jerseys they could buy in the bazaar, and still more by their Old Testament names. As shouts

of "Middle it, Isaiah," "Pass koro Jeremiah," "Shoot koro Abraham," rang over the field the spectators were convulsed with laughter. But their amusement soon turned to admiration as they saw how well the Indians played, and when they got into the finals and were only defeated at last after a very hard struggle against an English team, the victors gave them a special prize to mark their appreciation of their good sportsmanship.

Later on, when I went to Madras and my wife and I were confronted with the problem, how to make mixed parties of Europeans and Indians pleasant to all our guests, we found that lawn-tennis was a great resource. Indians played it exceedingly well and even young subalterns, who had naturally very little sympathy with Indians, enjoyed a good game of tennis with their best players. For many years we had one or two tennis parties of this kind every week during the cold weather and I venture to think that they did a great deal of good in the way of promoting kindly feeling between Indians and Europeans. I know that they were much appreciated by many of our Indian friends.

But even with the help of lawn-tennis it was not always easy to promote conversation between Europeans and Indians at social functions, for the simple reason that they have not the same small talk. Even among Europeans conversation is not always easy between two sets of people who have different interests, different social customs and a different outlook upon life. So the mere fact that when Europeans and Indians meet they do not know what to talk about makes social intercourse somewhat constrained. A few years ago our first Indian bishop, the Bishop of

Dornakal, was staying with us at Ootacamund and went to dine at Government House. A young English officer sat next to him and was very anxious to make himself pleasant, so he started conversation at once: "Do you play polo, Bishop?" The Bishop replied, "No." Then after a pause, "Do you hunt?" Again he drew blank. After a longer pause he tried again: "Do you play cricket?" That too was a failure, and "Do you fish?" was no more successful. So at last in desperation he asked, "Do you dance?" This drew a most emphatic "No"; but happily the Bishop saw an opening and at once plunged into a discussion on the differences between dancing in India and dancing in Europe and the ethics of the Indian nautch. This incident illustrates the real difficulty there was in the way of social intercourse between the two races even when there was every desire on both sides to be pleasant and friendly. The result was that even when Indians and Europeans went to the same social function, such as a garden party, it was quite common to see the Europeans gathered together in one part of the garden and the Indians in another.

I have already mentioned the obstacle to social intercourse which results from the seclusion of Indian women and I would add to what I have said above the additional difficulty arising from their lack of education. This is less the case now than it was twenty years ago, as a considerable number of Indian women, especially among the Parsees, Christians and emancipated Hindus, have lately been highly educated, and many of them have taken their degrees at the different Indian universities. But thirty or forty years ago educated Indian women in most parts of

India were exceedingly rare. The education of all but a very few stopped at twelve years of age. Under these circumstances even if English ladies had visited them in their homes social intercourse on anything like an equal footing would have been impossible.

And one thing that has certainly tended to make Europeans in India shy of cultivating social relations with Indians is the unpleasant experience which many of them have had of the way in which their friendliness has been exploited for obtaining appointments. The competition among educated Indians for appointments either in Government service or merchants' offices during the last half-century has been tremendously keen, and even a slight acquaintance with a European has been regarded as a valuable asset in the struggle for a livelihood. When I first went to Calcutta, even though I had no official position and no posts to give away, I found that a large number of the young men with whom I made friends expected me to help them to get posts, and seemed to assume that personal friendship ought to outweigh even truth and honesty.

At first I was much perplexed at this, and used to waste much time in trying to persuade young Indians, who came to ask me for a testimonial, that as I knew nothing about them I could not honestly say that I thought them fit for the particular post they wanted. The fact that one of their remote relations knew me personally seemed to them a perfectly valid reason why I should depart from the strict path of honesty. The only man during the whole of the time that I spent in Calcutta who did seem to understand my scruples was the nephew of a Rajah of my acquaintance. He was a bit of a sportsman and as soon as

I explained my difficulty replied cheerfully, " Then I will call on you every day till you do know me."

It was, I must confess, just a little mortifying sometimes to discover how small a bribe was thought sufficient to outweigh these conscientious objections. One graduate of the Calcutta University brought me a small parcel of tattered and miscellaneous volumes which he had bought, probably for fourpence, at an auction. When I explained that they were no good to me, he said ingenuously, " But they are no good to me either ! " And that was supposed to be my price ! Later on at Madras an Indian of quite good position in society endeavoured to persuade my wife to use her influence with one of the Members of Council to get him appointed to a post in the Judicial Department by a present of twelve mangoes, all of them rotten !

At the same time in spite of all these difficulties and obstacles I think that it is a real loss to both Europeans and Indians that there has been during the past fifty years so little social intercourse between them. I am not saying this without knowledge, as during the thirty-nine years that I lived and worked in India I made friends with Indians of all classes and I know by personal experience how ready Indians are to respond to friendship and how much easier it becomes to solve difficult problems in Church and State when friendly relations are established ; and I feel sure that if English men and English women had set themselves to overcome the difficulties, cultivate social relations and make friends with the many educated Indians who deserved and would have welcomed their friendship, the political history of this last twenty years would have run a much smoother

course. There would undoubtedly have been differences of opinion on political matters, and in India as elsewhere political strife would have created a certain bitterness of feeling. The relations between Liberals and Conservatives in England have been none too friendly. But this bitterness has been increased tenfold in India by the fact that the educated Indians have felt that the Europeans look down upon them and despise them, and this feeling has been to a large extent caused by the social aloofness of the Europeans.

CHAPTER 19
POLITICAL REFORMS

THE serious unrest in India since the passing of the Reform Act in 1919 has been an unwelcome surprise to the British public at home and an unexpected result of the reforms to most Europeans in India itself. What are popularly known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms seemed to them to grant to the Indian peoples far more than Indian politicians had been demanding for the last sixty years and far more than Lord Morley ten years before had thought it possible to give, though he did in reality accept the main ideas of the Congress. A brief survey of the political developments since the Mutiny will show that this Bill was not merely another step forward along the old paths, but in effect a revolution. In 1858 the British Government took over from the East India Company the autocracy that they inherited from the Great Moghul. But very soon, in 1861, the first hesitating step was taken away from pure autocracy in the direction of constitutionalism. Councils were then established for the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, and a limited number of non-official members, who might be Indian or European, were appointed by the Government. But these Councils were purely consultative bodies for the purpose of advising Government in legislative matters. They had no power to discuss either the Budget or any other questions of public

importance, nor could they criticise the actions of the executive. They were in no sense parliaments, nor were they properly speaking legislative councils. They were simply advisory committees whose function it was to keep the Government in touch with Indian opinion. A fresh advance was made in 1892 when the Councils were enlarged and a tentative move made towards the elective principle, a point on which Mr. Gladstone, who was then a member of the Opposition, laid great stress when the Bill came before Parliament. In accordance with this Bill the non-official members of the different Councils were nominated by various corporations, associations and interests though they were actually appointed by the Government. The Councils were also given the power to discuss the Budget, but not to vote on it.

A third step was taken in 1909, when Lord Minto was Viceroy and Lord Morley Secretary of State for India. By that time the educated class was fast growing in numbers and influence, and the victory of Japan over Russia had given an enormous impetus to the tide of nationalism that had been steadily rising since the foundation of the National Congress in 1885.

The Morley-Minto Reform Bill met this demand by going as far in the direction of giving Indians a share in the government of the country as it was possible to go consistently with the fundamental principle of the responsibility of the executive to the British Parliament, on which the Government of India was then based. By this Bill the elective principle was fully accepted for non-official members. Official majorities were abolished in the Provincial

Councils, though a small official majority was retained in the Viceroy's Council for All India. At the same time the Councils were considerably enlarged and were given the right to discuss the Budget before it was settled, to propose resolutions on it and divide upon them. Power was also given to move resolutions on any matters of public importance and to criticise the actions of the executive.

This was a very substantial advance and was at first warmly welcomed as such by Indian politicians. But these reforms, important as they were, failed to satisfy educated Indians and did not really touch the difficulty of combining the autocracy of the British Parliament, as the supreme authority to which the executive in India was responsible, with any measure of constitutionalism. On the principle of the supremacy of Parliament statesmen of all shades of opinion at that time were agreed. Lord Dufferin, writing during the discussions which led to the Act of 1892, assumed the principle as a matter of course. The government of India, he said, " is conducted in the name of a monarch whose throne is in England. The executive that represents her *imperium* in India is an executive directly responsible not to any local authority but to the Sovereign and the British Parliament." And Lord Morley, staunch Liberal though he was, emphatically repudiated any intention of introducing constitutional government in India or even of taking any steps that might lead to it. He heartily endorsed the position taken up by Lord Minto and his Government.

" Your excellency's disclaim for your Government," he wrote to the Viceroy, " of being advocates of representative government for India in the Western sense of the term is not any more than

was to be expected. Some of the most powerful advocates of the representative system in Europe have learned and taught from Indian experiences of their own that, in your excellency's words, 'it could never be akin to the instincts of the many races comprising the population of the Indian Empire.'" And then he continues: "While repudiating the intention or desire to attempt the transplantation of any European form of representative government to Indian soil, what is sought by your excellency in council is to improve existing machinery or to find new for 'recognising the natural aspiration of educated men to share in the government of their own country.' I need not say that in this design you have the cordial concurrence of His Majesty's Government.

"One main standard and test for all who have a share in guiding Indian policy, whether at Whitehall or Calcutta, is the effect of whatever new proposal may at any time be made upon the strength and steadiness of the paramount power. In Indian government there is no grace worth having in what is praised as a concession, and no particular virtue in satisfying an aspiration, unless your measures at the same time fortify the basis of authority on which peace and order and all the elements of the public good in India depend."

In accordance with these views Lord Morley declared with reference to the reforms of 1909:

"If it could be said that this chapter of reforms led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a parliamentary system in India, I for one would have nothing to do with it."

These statements of Lord Dufferin and Lord Morley set forth clearly and unmistakably the principle upon which the Government of India was at that time based and the necessary limitations which that principle imposed, in the view of Liberal statesmen of that period, on any measures of reform. "The strength and steadiness of the paramount power" was to be the first consideration, and no concessions to Indian demands or aspirations could rightly be made unless they fortified the basis of authority, which at that time was the British Parliament.

Nevertheless in spite of his disclaimers Lord Morley took a long step towards the goal that he so emphatically repudiated. The idea of the Government of India as a benevolent despotism, resting on the ultimate authority of the British Parliament, was not consistent with the policy of giving Indians an increasingly large share in the government of their own country. The educated classes rebelled against the position of mere advisers, and the more power they acquired the more difficult it became to govern India without their active support. The European war brought matters to a head, and in 1917 the British Government felt that it must make the choice between autocracy and constitutionalism. It was impossible to stand still on the position taken up by the Morley-Minto Reform Act. And it was impossible to move further along the same lines without weakening "the strength of the paramount power." The choice had to be made, and when the issue was fairly faced British statesmen could not hesitate as to what the choice must be. There is only one goal in the Government of India which is consistent with the temper of the British people and the principles of their political history, and that is the goal of self-government. More than a hundred years ago some of the ablest statesmen that England has sent out to India, declared that self-government must be the ultimate aim of our rule in India and that our policy should be directed towards the education of the peoples of India to manage their own affairs. It would have saved much strife and bitterness if this far-sighted policy had been definitely adopted and steadily pursued from the time when the British Government first took over the possessions of the East India Company in 1858 and assumed the

responsibility of governing India in the name of the British Sovereign. The weakness of our position in India since that time has been due to the fact that the Government have been steadily drifting towards a goal that they strongly disavowed. It was not realised that when once an educated class, familiar with our Western principles of government and our British ideals of freedom, was created and education spread among the masses the ultimate basis of authority must gradually pass from England to India. The political history of India during the last sixty years has abundantly proved this. What steadily impelled the Government of India from 1861 onwards along the path that led from autocracy to constitutionalism was the increasing difficulty, amounting at last almost to impossibility, of governing India without any strong, active support from Indian public opinion, unless measures were adopted which the British public would not have tolerated.

The outstanding feature of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Act of 1919 is that it frankly and fully recognised this fundamental fact and based on it a complete change in the policy of the British Government with regard to India. On August 20, 1917, Mr. Montagu made the memorable announcement in the House of Commons in which he stated that :

> "The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire."

The official Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms published in 1918 and presented to both Houses of

Parliament by command of His Majesty, makes it clear that the British Government fully understood what they were doing and definitely intended to make a complete change of policy :

" We take these words to be the most momentous utterance ever made in India's chequered history. They pledge the British Government in clearest terms to the adoption of a new policy towards three hundred millions of people. The policy, so far as Western communities is concerned, is an old and tried one. Englishmen believe in responsible government as the best form of government they know ; and now, in response to requests from India, they have promised to extend it to India under the conditions set out in the announcement."

The ideal aimed at by this new policy is

" a sisterhood of States self-governing in all matters of purely local interest, in some cases corresponding to existing provinces, in others modified in area according to the character and economic interest of the people. Over this congeries of States would preside a Central Government, increasingly representative of and responsible to the people of all of them."

But as Mr. Montagu clearly and emphatically stated :

" It is an ideal that can only be achieved by successive stages ; " and " the British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance."

It is a splendid ideal, worthy of the best traditions of British statesmanship, and if during this century the ideal can be realised it will be one of the noblest achievements of the British nation in the whole course of their history. To convert an Oriental despotism into a sisterhood of free States, to inspire 300,000,000 of people who had been ruled autocratically for at least 2,000 years with aspirations for liberty and self-

government and to enable them to use wisely and justly the freedom to which they aspire, is indeed a colossal enterprise, but it is an enterprise which, if successful, will open a new chapter of progress and prosperity for the peoples of India and, if unhappily it fails, will do so not because it is too petty, but because it is too great.

There ought, therefore, to be no faltering of purpose in going steadily forward along the path of constitutional progress upon which India has entered. At the same time we shall only court disaster if either the British public or the educated classes of India shut their eyes to the difficulties that must be overcome before the goal is reached and assume that the task is an easy one.

To begin with we must face the problems of defence against invasion and the maintenance of unity. Self-government involves self-defence. An Indian Government based on the will of an Indian electorate cannot hire 50,000 British troops as mercenaries, nor can it expect Great Britain to uphold its policy by armed force. Before India can be really independent it must be able to create, train, equip and control its own army to safeguard it against invasion from without, maintain internal unity and uphold law and order. It is foolish to ignore the fact that this is a most difficult problem and needs the most careful and anxious consideration. Mistakes made about other matters may be serious but need not be fatal. If the government is decentralized and independence given to the Provinces in all matters of provincial concern it is possible for Provincial Governments to make all manner of mistakes about education, sanitation, medical work, revenue and expenditure, police

organisation and other matters of provincial interest without absolute disaster. The mistakes will do harm and affect for years the welfare of the people ; but they can be remedied. Politicians and electorates in India, as elsewhere, can learn by experience and profit by their own errors.

And this applies to much of the work of the Central Government as well. They can make serious blunders about taxation, transport, excise, customs and other similar matters with comparative impunity. But the maintenance of internal unity and the protection of India against invasion are different matters. If a bad mistake is made about them India will be plunged into anarchy and chaos, the whole framework of social order, within which alone it is possible for free institutions to grow up, will be destroyed and India will be hurled back 1,000 years into the abyss of Oriental despotism. It is hardly possible to insist too strongly on this point at the present time because many Indian politicians and many people also in Great Britain are so strangely blind to it. The fact is that the British Government in India for the last 100 years have been so wonderfully successful in creating and maintaining political unity among the Indian peoples, in preserving law and order, and in safeguarding India against invasion that it is not realised either in India or in England what a difficult business it has been.

Many years ago, during one of the periodic scares about a Russian invasion of India, the late Lord Salisbury advised people at home to look at a large map. I am not sure that large maps bring much comfort as regards the future of India. If anyone will get a large map of the countries stretching from the

Bosphorus to Burma and colour green the Muhammadan countries and the territory in India in which the Muhammadan population is predominant or powerful, he will see a solid mass of green on the north-west of India, comprising the States of Turkey, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia and Turkestan, with the warlike, ambitious nation of Afghanistan as the spear-head; while the gates of India on its north-west frontier are held by turbulent Muhammadan tribes, by the Muhammadan district of Baluchistan and by the Muhammadans of the Panjab, who form one half of the population of that Province. We have only to look back at the past history of India to see how again and again for the last 4,000 years India has been invaded from the north-west, and then turn to the present and see the unrest among all the Muhammadan peoples of the world, their humiliation at their loss of power and prestige, their desire for a great Pan-Islamic federation which may restore to them their place in the sun, to realise, as we look at the big map, that the peril of invasion is one that India must take seriously.

And a study of a big map of India itself will show that it must also take seriously the danger of internal disruption. There is no natural unity among the Indian peoples. There is no unity of race or language. A large map coloured according to race and language will show about eight distinct racial families, subdivided again into about twenty-five different races, speaking twenty-five different languages. And these separate races differ from one another as widely as the English and Scotch differ from the Greeks and Italians. Even in South India, where the bulk of the people belong to the same Dravidian family, Tamils, Telugus and

Malayalis differ not only in language but in character, temperament and social customs.

And there is no religious unity. We are familiar with the difficulty of getting different bodies of Christians to live harmoniously together under one political system in Ireland and elsewhere. But in India the cleavage between Hindus and Muhammadans is far greater than that between Roman Catholics and Protestants, while the people of Burma, Mongol by race and Buddhist by religion, are equidistant from them both. And to these must be added the warlike Sikhs with their traditions of conquest and their religious enthusiasm, the Parsees and Christians, and the brave little Gurkhas in Nepal with their primitive animism and love of fighting.

The events of the last four years have abundantly illustrated the reality of this danger to the peace and unity of India. Under the spell of Mr. Gandhi's influence and idealism a Hindu-Moslem *entente* was established when he launched his non-co-operation movement. But since then dissensions between Hindus and Muhammadans have broken out in different parts of India with greater violence than ever. In 1920 came the Moplah rebellion on the south-west coast. It was directly due to the incendiary speeches of Mr. Gandhi's Muhammadan allies, who inflamed their ignorant and fanatical followers by speaking about wading to self-government through seas of blood and telling them that the British Government was about to pass away. But the actual rebellion was a rising of the Muhammadan Moplahs against the Hindus and was marked by the savage atrocities that are an ordinary feature of similar risings all over India. Thousands of Hindus were massacred, many

hundreds were forcibly converted to Muhammadanism, and a reign of terror was established throughout the district. I spent Christmas 1921 with the British troops who were engaged in suppressing the rebellion. On Christmas Eve four of the leaders were brought into the camp as prisoners. One was " a holy man " of great influence among the rebels who claimed descent from Muhammad. Thousands of the Moplahs were under his command. Among the crimes charged against him was that of flaying children alive before the eyes of their Hindu parents. He was tried by court-martial and shot a few days after I saw him. The blind faith of his followers was extraordinary. They would brave any danger and commit any crime at his command. He told them that, if they wore the armlets that he gave them, bullets would melt and could not hurt them, and boasted that if shells were fired he would catch them and throw them back at the enemy. To make good his boast he would secretly take the bullets out of cartridges and tell his men to fire at him after he had put a spell on their rifles. When no harm came to him they were convinced that he had supernatural power and it took some time to undeceive them. The terror which these fanatics spread among the Hindus was a significant commentary on the Hindu-Moslem *entente* and on the idea that religious fanaticism can be controlled by resolutions at public meetings. I visited several camps of Hindu refugees who had fled from the brutality of the Moplahs and heard pitiable tales of the sufferings they had endured. Their one cry was for the British troops to remain in the district.

Similar outbreaks, though on a smaller scale, have taken place during the last four years in North India

at Mooltan, Amritsar and elsewhere. At Mooltan, but for the prompt intervention of the British troops the whole of the Hindu population, which was in the minority, would probably have been massacred.

And within the last year the reconversion to Hinduism of thousands of Muhammadans, whose ancestors were originally Hindus, has created a great ferment amongst the Muhammadans of the United Provinces and threatens to lead to serious trouble. The Pandit Malaviya, one of the most prominent leaders of the nationalist party, addressing last August a large gathering of Hindus at Benares, spoke strongly of the humiliations to which Hindus had been subjected at the hands of Muhammadans in recent years and urged the Hindus to unite and make themselves strong so that Muhammadan rowdies should no longer feel able to desecrate their temples, dishonour their women and loot their shops and houses with impunity.

And even as late as December 1923, while the National Congress, composed almost entirely of extremists, was in session at Cocanada, with a prominent Muhammadan agitator as president, in a suburb of Calcutta, Hindus were driving pigs into Muhammadan mosques, Muhammadans were throwing joints of beef into Hindu temples, and a fanatical mob of some 25,000 Moslems armed with heavy sticks were attacking Hindu houses and killing the inhabitants.

The unrest among the Sikhs in the Panjab is equally serious. They are a religious brotherhood inspired by religious fervour as well as by memories of past greatness and dominion. The trouble began with dissensions among themselves with regard to the control and administration of their temples; but gradually it has assumed the form of an agitation

against the Government, and recent reports from the Panjab indicate that a rising of the Sikhs at no distant date is a real and serious danger.

All these events, that are not matters of ancient history but have taken place within the last four years, are indications that the forces of religious fanaticism, lurking beneath the surface of Indian society, are as strong as ever and need the restraining hand of a strong central Government to prevent them from trampling under foot the tender plant of national unity that is slowly growing up under the protection of the British Government.

And then again there is no natural political unity in India. A large map showing the native States owning allegiance to the British Sovereign in one colour and the Provinces of British India in another colour would be something like a tessellated pavement. About a third of the whole area of India and about a fifth of its population is divided up among over seventy independent States, varying in size from 12,000,000 to a few thousand.

All these States are ruled despotically by their own native princes. And they are interspersed, as the map will show, among the Provinces of British India in a way that makes it impossible to form them into a separate united block. The official Report on the Reform Act of 1919 in the picture which it draws of the future of India as a sisterhood of States says that "in this picture there is a place also for the native States." But we need to remember that in a federation of democracies there is no place for despotisms. History presents us with many examples of federations. But where can we find a precedent for a federation in which some twenty or thirty of the States will be

governed by representative and democratic governments, and some seventy of them will be governed by autocratic princes ? Before there can be a federation of States uniting the whole of India under one political system apart from the British Government, either the States of British India must revert to despotism or the native States must advance towards democracy. As things are at present the British Government is the only possible keystone to the political arch.

It is quite true that under the ægis of the British Government there has grown up during the last fifty years a strong sense of unity and solidarity and a sentiment of a common nationalism among the educated classes all over India ; and if this sense of unity can be given time to grow and extend, there is good reason to hope that this new spirit will become sufficiently strong and widespread to achieve the herculean task of welding all the diverse races, religions and systems of government into one great national unity. But the new spirit must have time to grow. It is as yet in its infancy. It has been the child of British rule and if the power that has so far created and fostered it is prematurely withdrawn, the work that will task to the utmost the strength of the grown man will inevitably crush and kill the child.

We must not overlook too the grave difficulty of creating and maintaining an Indian Army without British troops, British officers and the controlling power of the British Government, which involves the support of the military and naval resources of Great Britain. At the present moment the Indian Army is made up of the most heterogeneous elements. There are Muhammadans and Sikhs from North India and

the Deccan, Hindu Mahrattas from the West, Gurkhas from Nepal, and Tamils and Telugus from South India. And in addition to the army maintained by the British Government there are the Imperial Service troops maintained by the leading native States, many of which did such valuable service in the Great War. The 60,000 British troops, the British officers and the British Government have been like a strong band binding these heterogeneous elements together. It is safe to say that if this band were to be withdrawn now, the whole Indian Army would fall to pieces, and would become a danger instead of a protection to India. Before, therefore, the band is withdrawn it is necessary to make sure that there is a sentiment of unity and patriotism among the fighting races and classes from which the troops are recruited, strong enough to keep the Army together as one harmonious machine and to guard against the very real dangers that would arise from able and ambitious military chiefs. The thing most likely to happen if the British Government were, as some people are suggesting, to scuttle out of India would be a series of military risings, resulting in the conquest of British India by various military adventurers, the enlargement of the borders of the strongest native States, invasion from Afghanistan on the north-west and Nepal on the north-east, a long period of bloodshed and confusion inflicting untold suffering on 300,000,000 of people and the suppression of all efforts and aspirations after liberty and constitutional government for an indefinite period. As trustees on behalf of the Indian peoples and in the interests of the educated classes themselves the British Government are not justified in running the risk of this appalling catastrophe. They have a

responsibility for the welfare of India which they cannot disavow without betraying a solemn trust.

Another consideration that must be taken into account in deciding the rate of advance towards representative government is the illiteracy, ignorance and extreme credulity of the mass of the people and the absence of any large class, outside the ranks of Government servants, trained in the arts of government.

At the present moment, according to the returns of the last census of 1921, only about 7 per cent. of the population of British India are literate in the vernaculars and only about 3 per cent. are literate in English. And both in the vernaculars and in English the standard of literacy is very low. And the credulity of the masses is colossal. When the people in one district were told that if they did not obey Mr. Gandhi he would turn them into pigs they implicitly believed it. During the war the people in one district of the Hyderabad State were quite convinced that King George and his Queen and all the Royal Family had taken refuge in Hyderabad city under the protection of the Nizam and that King George had shaved off his beard and moustache and the Queen had dressed as a man to avoid discovery by the Germans. Illiterate people who live in towns and cities often have quite a good knowledge of public affairs and a shrewd judgment as to what is possible or probable. But out of the 250,000,000 people in British India about 225,000,000 live in villages largely isolated from all knowledge of the outside world.

In these circumstances democracy must necessarily be an ideal of the distant future. Lord Bryce defined democracy as " a system of government in which the

will of the majority of qualified citizens rules," and he defined " qualified citizens " to mean three-quarters of the population. But the largest electorate that it has been found possible to form under the recent Reform Act in the Provinces of India amount to about 5 per cent. of the population ; while the All India Legislative Assembly is elected by 180,000 people out of a population of 250,000,000. This is a long, long way from democracy. All that is possible at present is an exceedingly narrow oligarchy.

It is quite true that England at the beginning of the nineteenth century was a self-governing State and had parliamentary institutions with an electorate of not more than 3 per cent. of the population. But the oligarchy of England was composed of a governing class that had been trained and accustomed to govern for centuries, since the beginning of the feudal system. India has no such class in existence to guide her on the road to democracy. And the government of India is an infinitely more difficult task than the government of England. India is equivalent to the whole of Europe, excluding Russia and Great Britain. It is as varied in its different races. It is more varied in religion and in its stages of civilisation. The task before the Indian Government is similar in difficulty and complexity to the task which the Holy Roman Empire failed to achieve for Europe in the Middle Ages.

In the face of all these difficulties we need not despair, but there is a great need for patience and self-control. A task that in any case would be colossal has been made infinitely greater than it need have been by the impatience and unpractical idealism of a large section of the Indian intelligentsia. They over-

look the patient spade work that must necessarily be done before a great ideal can be realised.

" Nature has given nothing to man without great toil " is an ancient truth that needs constantly reiterating in India at the present day. During the last sixty years, since the educated classes in India have become familiar with the thought and life of the West there has been an almost pathetic faith among them that they can reap the fruits of Western civilisation without the labour and discipline that have made it possible. This is especially the case in the sphere of social and political progress. We have won our liberty in England by centuries of effort and sacrifice, " while freedom slowly broadened down from precedent to precedent." It is assumed too lightly in India that by Acts of Parliament and resolutions at public meetings the same results can be achieved in a few years. And at this time the best friends of constitutional government in India are those who have the courage to remind the intelligentsia that freedom can only be won at the price of moral discipline, and that democracy, the most difficult of all forms of government to work, depends for its success mainly upon the wide diffusion of knowledge, justice and public spirit.

CHAPTER 20

NON-CO-OPERATION AND AMRITSAR

THE policy of non-co-operation was started by Mr. Gandhi in 1919 as a protest against what was called the Rowlatt Act, which was passed by the Legislative Council of the Government of India in consequence of the report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the revolutionary conspiracy in Bengal.

The state of affairs in Bengal, revealed in the report of the Commission, was intolerable and such as no civilised Government could allow to continue. Policemen were shot in crowded streets of Calcutta in broad daylight ; a large number of well-to-do Indians were robbed and murdered in the village districts with impunity to provide funds for an anarchical organisation ; a reign of terror was established which made it impossible to obtain evidence against the criminal gang, which organised and carried on this campaign of robbery and assassination ; the ordinary procedure of the courts of law was useless, the Government were unable to perform their primary function of preserving law and order and protecting the lives and property of peaceable citizens.

The Commission, presided over by Justice Rowlatt and including among its members an Indian Judge of the High Court in Madras, recommended that special legislation should be passed by the Government of India to enable them to deal effectively with this

criminal conspiracy in any Province or district to which its activities might be extended.

In accordance with the recommendations of the Commission, made after the fullest and most careful enquiry into the origin, nature and ramifications of the conspiracy, the Rowlatt Act was passed giving the Government the necessary powers under most careful safeguards. It was violently opposed in the Legislative Council by Indian members and bitter speeches were made against it. Outside the Council wild rumours were spread among the ignorant masses by the opponents of the Act as to the effect it would have. It was said that the police would have power to arrest any three or four men who were found talking together, that no one would be allowed to own more than a small amount of land, and even that no one would be allowed to marry without the consent of the Government. These shameless lies were a travesty of the Act. But unhappily the political leaders of the Nationalists, though they did not themselves make these statements, took no steps to deny them or to explain to the people what the objects and provisions of the Act really were.

The agitation was a striking illustration of the incapacity of a large section of Indian politicians to face facts and realities or to understand the first principle of civilised government. Mr. Gandhi took the lead and started a movement for passive resistance, which from the first, in defiance of Mr. Gandhi's principles, took the form of organised violence, culminating in arson, robbery and murder. His own idea was that the mass of the people were to renounce all co-operation with Government, to disobey such laws as might be declared to be evil by Mr. Gandhi

himself and one or two persons nominated by him, and to decline to pay taxes. And he imagined that this would be done without any violence and in a spirit of love and goodwill. The association which he formed for promoting resistance to the Rowlatt Act, among other methods of propagating Mr. Gandhi's ideas, posted up in various places large placards, of which the following is a specimen :—

"Duty of the Servants of the Country"

1

"The abodes of just and good men are jails in the kingdom in which men are unjustly imprisoned.

"It is shameful to obey tyrannical rule.

"To oppose it is easy and good.

2

"How can the atrocities of the Rowlatt Bill be stopped?

"There is no atrocity if a thousand men refuse to pay taxes; but to pay taxes to a Government which commits atrocities is to support such rule and thus encourage atrocities."

By appeals and statements such as these, spread broadcast throughout the country in violent and inflammatory speeches and writings, feelings of resentment and anger against the Government were aroused in many parts of India, and especially in the Panjab and the Bombay Presidency, at a time when the masses were already in a state of unrest owing to the rise of prices and other results of the Great War.

In the newspapers and at public meetings attacks were made on the Government for the benefit of the educated classes. One of the leading papers in Calcutta declared that the parallel to the Rowlatt Act in history was "that of Nadir Shah, on the pretext of some of his soldiers being killed in a bazaar affray,

making over the city of Delhi to the rapine, lust and bloodthirstiness of his brutal soldiery."

In a paper published at Amritsar there was a cartoon showing:

"The Secretary of State in the act of handing the order of liberty to India, when a black cobra, released from a basket by Mr. Rowlatt, bites her."

And these statements are typical of a large number of the addresses given at many public meetings, especially in the Panjab.

The result of this agitation was exactly what might have been expected and in fact what almost every one except Mr. Gandhi did expect, namely a campaign of lawlessness and violence. Outbreaks of disorder took place at various places in the Panjab and the Bombay Presidency, culminating at last in the tragedy at Amritsar.

The facts with regard to this tragedy have been obscured and distorted by passion and prejudice on both sides. I will simply summarise the official Report of the Committee appointed by the Government of India to investigate the disturbances at Amritsar and in the Panjab generally.

On March 23, 1919, a meeting was held in Amritsar in support of Mr. Gandhi's movement, and a few days afterwards it was resolved to hold a *Hartal*, as a mark of mourning, to protest against the Government. A *Hartal* involves the closing of all shops and generally the suspension of business. When the *Hartal* took place at Amritsar on March 30, and again on April 6, business stopped, but Europeans walked about the city amongst the crowds unmolested. On the latter occasion, however, an ominous placard was posted

up on the Clock Tower calling on the people of Amritsar to " die and kill," and the Deputy-Commissioner was alarmed at the evidence he had received of the influence of two violent agitators, Drs. Kitchlew and Satyalal. He regarded the *Hartal* as a mere step to test the organisation. " Who are at the bottom of this," he wrote in his report to Government, " I cannot say . . . Kitchlew himself I regard as the local agent of much bigger men. Who those are can only be guessed from their rage at the Rowlatt Act, which strikes at the roots of organised anarchic crime."

In consequence of the Deputy-Commissioner's report the Panjab Government, of which Sir Michael O'Dwyer was the head, issued orders for deporting Drs. Kitchlew and Satyalal from Amritsar, under the Defence of India Act, and decided to strengthen the military garrison at Amritsar as soon as possible.

On April 9 there was a Hindu festival, in which the Muhammadans joined as a demonstration of Hindu-Muhammadan unity. On that occasion there was considerable excitement, but still no demonstration against the Government and no sign of hostility to the British. The Deputy-Commissioner stated that the crowds " as a rule were very civil " and that, as he stood and witnessed the procession from the verandah of a bank, every car in the procession stopped in front of him and the band played " God save the King."

Next day, April 10, under orders from the Panjab Government the Deputy-Commissioner arrested and deported Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyalal, and made preparations, with the police at his disposal and a small body of British Infantry, stationed two miles

outside the city, to guard against the disturbance he feared would result from the arrest and deportation of these two leaders of the agitation.

The trouble came speedily. At midday the news of the arrest spread in the city. Shops were closed, crowds collected and an excited and angry mob made for the civil lines where the Europeans live, bent on seeing the Deputy-Commissioner and demanding the release of the two leaders. The mob came into collision with a small picket of five British soldiers and attacked them with stones and sticks. In self-defence the soldiers were at last compelled to fire at the mob and three or four men were killed or wounded. By one o'clock a larger crowd of about 30,000 made their way to the civil lines. What happened is described in detail in the Report of the Committee.

"At the National Bank Mr. Stewart, the Manager, and Mr. Scott, the Assistant Manager, were brutally beaten to death by the mob; their bodies were burnt in a pile of bank furniture in the middle of the bank building and the building itself was sacked, set on fire and completely gutted. The godowns at the rear in which large quantities of piece goods were kept were broken into and thrown open for looting.

"The Alliance Bank was attacked; the Manager, Mr. G. M. Thomson, who attempted to defend himself with a revolver, was cruelly murdered and flung from the balcony on to the street; his body was burnt in the street under a pile of bank furniture drenched in kerosene oil. The building itself was not destroyed. It is owned by Indians, and in view of the manifest race-hatred of the mob, we do not doubt that this fact made them spare it."

At the Chartered Bank some glass and other property was destroyed, but the manager and his assistant took refuge in an upper storey and were rescued by twenty-five armed constables under an Indian deputy-

superintendent before the Bank could be looted and burnt. About the same time the town hall and a sub-post office were burnt to the ground and the main telegraph office with the telephone instruments destroyed; while at the railway station the goods yard was looted and an English guard was brutally beaten to death.

In the city itself Sergeant Rowlands, electrician to the military works, was attacked and murdered, and Miss Sherwood, a lady missionary who had devoted her life to the welfare of the people, was pursued by the mob when bicycling to one of the mission schools. The Report gives the following account of this brutal outrage:

"She was intercepted and overtaken by the mob, knocked down by blows on the head, beaten while on the ground; when she got up to run she was knocked down again more than once; a door which she tried to enter was slammed in her face: in the end she was left on the street because she was thought to be dead."

She was afterwards picked up by some Hindus, by whose action she was enabled to receive medical attention in time to save her life.

"Another incident," says the Report, "vividly showing that no European of either sex was safe from the mob, is the search for Mrs. Easdon, the lady doctor in charge of the Zenana Hospital. This hospital was entered and twice ransacked to find her; she contrived to conceal herself on both occasions and the second search was discontinued before she had been discovered upon news reaching the rioters of loot at the National Bank."

The Indian Christian Church and the Religious Book Society's Depot and Hall were burnt; an attempt to burn the Church Missionary Society's Girls' Normal School was frustrated by the police picket.

During the night all the railway telegraph wires near Amritsar were cut and attempts were made to destroy the main line leading to Lahore, so that by the next morning Amritsar was to a large extent isolated, a fact which shows that the outbreak was directed and inspired by leaders with a definite policy.

The Report of the Committee sums up the nature of the outbreak as follows :

" That it was anti-Government is clear at every stage ; starting in anger at the action of Government in deporting the two local politicians, it proceeded by attack upon post offices and the railway (which is really a State railway and is regarded as such). Almost, though not quite from the first, hostility to Government became a murderous antipathy to Europeans not merely to officials but to Europeans as such. The attack upon the banks was primarily motived by this race-hatred, which led and directed the desire for destruction and loot. The destruction of buildings associated with Christian institutions, or thought to be, points firmly in the same direction. The records of the trials certainly go to show that the actual perpetrators of brutal murder were not representative Amritsar citizens, but of what may be called the ' hooligan ' class, some of whom in Amritsar appear to have had a certain leadership or influence over those of their own kind. But the numbers of the crowds taking part in the general disturbance, the extent to which crime and destruction were carried, the area which they covered, the time they lasted, the general political motive of defiance to authority, and destruction of its emblems, instruments or agents are facts too clear to be gainsaid. We do not omit to notice and signalise the fact that some Indians were doing their best to reason with the crowds which had to be repulsed at Hall Bridge, that Miss Sherwood was ultimately taken care of by some Indians, that Mrs. Easdon owed her life to her *chaprasi* (messenger). Other efforts by sane and loyal citizens inside the city on that day we have no doubt there were. Of visitors to the Horse Fair, we know also that a stalwart band of Indian officers, sowars and daffadars were collected by Khan Bahadur Fazal Dad Khan, Rissaldar-Major of the 12th cavalry, and volunteered their services to the officer at the Fort."

This outbreak of mob violence and brutality, directed against the Government and inspired by race-hatred against the British, forms the background to the second act of the tragedy.

During the afternoon of April 10 about 260 men of the 1/9th Gurkha regiment on their way to Peshawar arrived at the Amritsar railway station, and were detained to reinforce the garrison. They were unarmed, but 100 of them were provided with arms from the fort and reinforced the pickets in various parts of the city.

At about 10 p.m. 300 troops—125 British and 175 Baluchis—also arrived from Lahore under Major Macdonald. The Commissioner of the Lahore Division, who had previously arrived by motor car from Lahore, informed Major Macdonald that the situation was beyond civil control and that he, as senior Military Officer, was to take such steps as the military situation demanded.

Next day, April 11, at 11 p.m. Brigadier-General Dyer, who commanded the Jullundar Brigade, arrived at Amritsar and took over charge of the station from Major Macdonald. On the 12th he marched with a strong column round the city, as crowds were reported to be collecting outside it. Small parties of troops were also sent with the police to make arrests of various persons in connection with the crimes committed on the 10th. General Dyer stated in his evidence before the Committee of Enquiry that the bearing of the inhabitants was most insolent and that at one point the mob was dispersed with difficulty and he seriously considered the advisability of opening fire, but refrained from doing so as he thought that he ought first to warn them by a proclamation. Accordingly on the same

day the following proclamation was issued in the vernacular :—

PROCLAMATION

"The inhabitants of Amritsar are hereby warned that if they will cause damage to any property or will commit any acts of violence in the environs of Amritsar it will be taken for granted that such acts are due to incitement in Amritsar city, and offenders will be punished according to Military Law.

"All meetings and gatherings are hereby prohibited, and will be dispersed at once under Military Law."

The publication of this proclamation, duly signed by the Brigade-Major, was left to the police.

On the morning of April 13 General Dyer went through the city with the District Magistrate and some others and caused a proclamation to be read out by an Indian subordinate official to the people, summoned by beat of drum, at a considerable number of places in the city, though there were many parts where it was not read. Translated into English the proclamation was to the effect that no person residing in the city was allowed to leave it without a pass, or to leave his house after 8 p.m., that any person found in the streets after 8 p.m. was liable to be shot, that no procession of any kind was permitted to parade the streets in any part of the city or anywhere outside of it at any time, and that any such processions or any gathering of four men would be treated as an unlawful assembly and dispersed by force of arms if necessary.

It was stated in evidence before the Government Committee of Enquiry that many people on hearing this proclamation declared that it was mere bluff, and that at the very time when it was being read out a counter-proclamaton was made to the effect that the meeting

announced on April 12 would be held on the afternoon of April 13 in the Jallianwala Bagh. At about 1 p.m. General Dyer was informed that in defiance of his proclamation the people intended to hold a big meeting at 4.30 p.m. and at 4 p.m. he heard that the meeting was actually being held. Accordingly he marched through the city with a number of pickets, which he left at pre-arranged places, and proceeded with a special force of twenty-five Gurkhas and twenty-five Baluchis, all armed with rifles, forty Gurkhas, armed only with kukris (knives), and two armoured cars to the Jallianwala Bagh, which is a rectangular piece of open ground almost entirely surrounded by the walls of buildings and with very few and imperfect entrances and exits. It was often used for large open-air meetings.

The Report of the Committee of Enquiry gives the following account of General Dyer's action at the Bagh :

"At that end of the Bagh, by which General Dyer entered, there is raised ground on each side of the entrance. A large crowd had gathered at the opposite end of the Bagh and were being addressed by a man on a raised platform about 100 yards from where General Dyer stationed his troops. According to the report sent by General Dyer to the Adjutant-General after the occurrence, the crowd numbered about 6,000. It is probable that it was much more numerous, and that from 10,000 to 20,000 were assembled.

"As soon as General Dyer entered the Bagh he stationed twenty-five troops on one side of the higher ground at the entrance and twenty-five troops on the other side. Without giving the crowd warning to disperse, which he considered unnecessary as they were assembled in breach of his proclamation, he ordered his troops to fire and the firing was continued for about ten minutes. There is no evidence as to the nature of the address to which the audience were listening. None of them were provided with firearms, although some of them may have been carrying sticks. As

soon as firing commenced the crowd began to disperse. In all 1,650 rounds were fired by the troops. The firing was individual, not volley firing. Many casualties occurred among the crowd. As General Dyer, when the firing ceased, immediately marched his troops back to the Ram Bagh just outside the city, there was no means at the time of forming a correct estimate of the number of killed and wounded. At first it was thought that about 200 had been killed, and this number was apparently referred to as the list of casualties. Recently an investigation into the numbers has been completed by the Government with the assistance of a list compiled by the Allahabad *Seva Samiti* (Social Service League). As a result of this investigation it was discovered that approximately 379 people were killed. No figure was given for the wounded, but their number may be taken as probably three times as great as the number killed."

The Committee in their report made two criticisms on this action of General Dyer, " (first) that he started firing without giving the people who had assembled a chance to disperse, and (second) that he continued firing for a substantial period of time after the crowd had commenced to disperse." " In the ordinary case," they add, " where a proclamation has been issued, forbidding assemblies of people and intimating that a gathering held in defiance of the proclamation may have to be dispersed by military force, notice is properly given to the crowd before they are actually fired on."

There was no evidence of any emergency which justified the setting aside of the ordinary rule. It is probable that the majority of the mob would have refused to disperse even if notice had been given, as they had assembled in defiance of General Dyer's proclamation; but the usual notice to disperse would at any rate have given people who had come there in ignorance of the proclamation opportunity to retire and would have left no ground for the

accusation that innocent and peaceable people were massacred.

The Committee also strongly condemn the General's action in continuing to fire for ten minutes, when the crowd had tried to disperse through the narrow exits as soon as fire was opened. They characterise it as "a grave error." The excuse that General Dyer gave for this blunder was that he had in view not merely the dispersal of the crowd but the desirability of producing "a moral effect in the Panjab." That, however, was in the opinion of the Committee "a mistaken conception of his duty."

In public affairs there are often blunders which in their ultimate results are worse than crimes. And this was one of them. General Dyer thought it necessary to produce a moral effect on the Panjab. He did not consider the moral effect which his action would produce on the whole of India. It is possible that the immediate result was to crush an incipient rebellion in the Panjab. Sir Michael O'Dwyer said before the Committee :

"Speaking with perhaps a more intimate knowledge of the then situation than anyone else, I have no hesitation in saying that General Dyer's action that day was the decisive factor in crushing the rebellion, the seriousness of which is only now being generally realised."

On the other hand the Committee in their Report, writing with a full knowledge of all the facts put before them by the Government of the Panjab and the Government of India, state :

"The action of General Dyer has been described by others as having saved the situation in the Panjab and having averted a rebellion on a scale similar to the Mutiny. It does not, however, appear to us possible to draw this conclusion, particularly in view

of the fact that it is not proved that a conspiracy to overthrow British power had been formed prior to the outbreak."

But whatever may have been the immediate effect on the Panjab, the ultimate effect on public opinion in India generally has been disastrous. Up to the time of the Jallianwala Bagh incident the position of the Government from a moral point of view had been overwhelmingly strong. The necessity for the Rowlatt Act was abundantly proved by the evidence obtained by the Commission as to the existence of a dangerous and widespread organisation to overthrow the British Government by a campaign of violence and murder; and the agitation against the Act, headed by Mr. Gandhi, could only be justified on the principle, which Mr. Gandhi himself maintained, that it is wrong under any circumstances for a Government to use force.

The inevitable result and the hopeless inconsistency of the non-co-operation movement was demonstrated by the outbreaks of violence at Delhi, Ahmedabad and Amritsar. The brutal murders of Europeans at the latter place would have thrown the sympathies of law-abiding and well-disposed Indians on to the side of the Government, and the non-co-operation movement would have been discredited. The "grave error" of General Dyer completely changed the whole moral aspect of the situation in the eyes of educated Indians throughout the whole continent. It appeared to them to be not an act of justice but an indiscriminate massacre inspired by a spirit of revenge and racial antipathy. And this view was unhappily confirmed in their eyes both by General Dyer's subsequent action and by the harshness with which military law was administered in Lahore and elsewhere.

On April 19, General Dyer posted two pickets at different parts of the street in which Miss Sherwood had been assaulted and issued an order that no Indians were to pass between these two points, except on all fours. This "crawling order" continued in force till the 26th when it was withdrawn on the instructions of the Panjab Government, who disapproved of it. The comment of the Committee of Enquiry on this order is that it caused unnecessary inconvenience to a number of people, that it unnecessarily punished innocent as well as guilty, and above all that "in subjecting the Indian population to an act of humiliation it has continued to be a cause of bitterness and racial ill-feeling long after it was recalled."

To make matters worse the Government of India and a section of the British public at home acted in a way which made it appear to Indians that they condoned and approved General Dyer's actions. It was no doubt desirable to appoint a Committee to make an exhaustive enquiry into the outbreaks in the Panjab; on the other hand all the essential facts about the events at Amritsar and the incident at the Jallianwala Bagh were known to the Government, or could have been ascertained by an official enquiry on the spot, within a few days after their occurrence. Why wait for a whole year before dealing with a grave error which profoundly shocked public opinion all over India? The situation in the Panjab as a whole did not affect the criticisms made by the Committee on General Dyer's action. And I have good authority for saying that if the matter had been left to the military authorities at Simla to settle at once their decision would have been that General Dyer, placed in a difficult

situation, did not behave with the discretion that an officer of his rank is expected to show. He would then have been relieved of his command, the Government would have expressed their disapproval of his action and so far as they were concerned the incident would have been closed. As it was, General Dyer was promoted to a higher command in the ordinary course of events before the Committee made their report, and it appeared to the Indian public that he was being rewarded for his conduct at Amritsar. And then the extraordinarily unwise resolution of the House of Lords at a later stage and the public subscription of £20,000 as a compensation to General Dyer for his compulsory retirement completed the tragedy of errors.

No event within my own experience of Indian affairs has had a more disastrous effect on the moral prestige of the British in India. Some of my Indian friends in Madras, who were themselves high up in Government service and thoroughly loyal to the British Government, told me that they themselves felt so bitterly on the subject that they could not trust themselves to speak about it in the presence of Europeans.

When M. Clemenceau was in India I met him at Bangalore. He talked very freely about many subjects and among others about British rule in India. He confessed that his opinion on the subject had quite changed during his Indian tour. He came with the idea that the British were harsh and unsympathetic in their dealings with Indians and found to his surprise that at least 95 per cent. of the officials he met were sincerely trying to do all they could for the welfare of the people. He thought that there was no likelihood of

the British Government being overthrown, "but," he added with an impressive gesture, "there must be no more Amritsars, you cannot rule India like that."

CHAPTER 21
THE OUTLOOK

THE main reasons for anxiety with regard to the future of India are first that the British public do not know the dominant facts of the political situation described in chapter nineteen, and second that Indian politicians are unwilling to face them. But the facts themselves are obvious and beyond dispute. India for the first time in its history has been united politically from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin by the British Government, and the maintenance of that unity is only possible because the Government of India has behind it the whole power of Great Britain. The 60,000 British troops and 2,000 British officials in India represent the vast resources of the British nation. But withdraw the British troops and British officials and all they represent and the whole fabric of Indian unity would fall to pieces. That is the main fact which at the present moment dominates the whole situation. To ignore it is simply to court disaster and ruin.

And one inevitable consequence of this fact is that the central Government must for many years to come be British, resting upon the authority of the British Parliament. Lord Dufferin's dictum quoted above still holds good and for a long time must continue to hold good, namely that the executive of the Government of India is an executive directly responsible not

to any local authority but to the Sovereign and to the British Parliament. And Lord Morley's warning, also quoted above, still needs to be kept in mind, that "in Indian government there is no grace worth having in what is praised as a concession, and no particular virtue in satisfying an aspiration, unless your measures at the same time fortify the basis of authority on which peace and order and all the elements of the public good in India depend."

It is worth while to repeat and emphasise these statements because proposals are being made to-day both in India and in England, which are inconsistent with the truth that for the present the executive of the supreme Government in India must be responsible to the British Parliament and not to any local authority, and which would inevitably weaken the strength and steadiness of the paramount power. The central Government must be strong and a strong Government cannot serve two masters or rest upon two foundations, partly on the rock and partly on sand.

When we consider these obvious and dominant facts, it is clear that any talk on our part of withdrawing from India and granting full self-government to the Indian people in the near future is misleading and mischievous and can only retard the progress of India towards the appointed goal. There is still an immense amount of work to be done before a foundation can be laid, strong enough to bear the weight of so vast a political structure as that of the Indian Empire; the masses have to be educated, a spirit of national unity has to be created, the native States have to adopt constitutional forms of government and an Indian army, loyal to a united India, has to be made possible. It is truly "a colossal enterprise," but we need not

despair of carrying it to a successful issue if only British and Indians alike will face the facts, and realise that the main work of the immediate future is to educate the people and reform the grave social and religious abuses that obstruct the progress of political reconstruction.

But meanwhile there are two questions which call for immediate consideration. The first is the position of British officials under the new constitution. The authors of the Reform scheme strongly emphasised the fact that it could only succeed if a spirit of good will and co-operation prevailed between the British officials and the Indians, and also if a body of British officials could be secured no less able and devoted than those who built up the Indian Empire. But it seems doubtful whether these conditions will be fulfilled. The British officials as a body, even those who disliked and distrusted the Reforms, have it is true loyally accepted the situation and done their best to make the new constitution a success. But a large section of the educated Indians have unhappily failed to respond to this change of attitude on the part of the British. The attacks made on the British in the Indian press have been more violent and bitter during the last few years than ever before. And owing largely to this campaign of vilification the position of British officials in many parts of India has become increasingly difficult and unpleasant. It is, therefore, becoming very doubtful whether the abler men from our public schools and universities will any longer look to India for a career. It is necessary that this should be stated quite bluntly and frankly; because many Indian politicians have not yet realised the full significance of the recent

Reforms. They have been accustomed for half a century to criticise and attack their British rulers and treat them almost as enemies. And now that these same rulers are in process of being transformed into their servants, they still continue the old attitude of criticism and abuse. They have yet to learn that no body of men will willingly serve masters who are unjust and abusive.

In one curious section of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, presented to the British Parliament, when speaking of " the vehement and malignant abuse to which the service (Indian Civil Service) is exposed " a strange remedy is proposed. It is said that the fact that the British official remains mute under this storm of unjust abuse, " gives him in the eyes of educated Indians a certain intangible superiority of position, a cold invulnerability, which make sympathetic relations between them impossible." And it is suggested that the European public servant should have greater liberty of action to defend his position when attacked. " He ought," it is said, " not to leave the task of political education solely to the politicians. He also must explain and persuade and argue and refute."

It is hard to believe that this is meant to be taken seriously. It may be true that it is very annoying to Indians when their " malignant abuse " of British officials is met with an attitude of stolid silence ; but it is almost comic to suggest that it is the silence of the official that makes sympathetic relations impossible ! And it is difficult to reconcile the future position of officials in the Indian Civil Service with the idea that they should share with politicians the task of political education. Imagine English Civil

servants playing the rôle at an election and explaining, persuading, arguing and refuting at public meetings and in the public press!

The Report, however, in another section, makes a more practical suggestion that in the future the whole position of the British official in India will undergo a radical change, and that instead of continuing as now part of the executive agency of Government, he "will stand aside more from the work of carrying out orders and assume the position of a skilled consultant, a technical adviser and an inspecting and reporting officer."

It will take some time before a change of this kind can be effected, but it seems to be the only way in which the services of British officials in the future, when the services are largely Indianised, can be utilised with any benefit to India and satisfaction to the officials themselves. The present system of mixed services of Indians and Europeans on the same footing will give rise to many practical difficulties, when a large proportion of the officials are Indians. The salaries, allowances and pensions needed for Europeans are too large for Indians; and those that are adequate for Indians serving in their own country, are not adequate for Europeans living in a tropical climate. In the same way the leave rules that are necessary for Europeans are unnecessary and unreasonable for Indians. And yet it is very undesirable to have two scales of salaries, allowances and pensions and two sets of leave rules in the same service. But the more important consideration is the need of securing for British officials some sphere in which they can feel that they are really using their gifts and energies for the good of India, and in which also they can

work freely in accordance with their own ideals and standards.

They are now asked to go out in a new capacity. In the past men went out to India as the servants of the Sovereign and people of Great Britain to rule India on their behalf; and they felt confident that the work they were called upon to do would be in accordance with British standards and ideals. But that will not be the case in the future. It is useless to disguise the fact that Indian standards of public life and work are not the same as those that prevail in Great Britain. And one result of the transfer of power from the British Parliament to Indian Councils and of the Indianisation of the public services, will be that Indian standards will increasingly prevail.

One significant fact illustrates the difference. At the recent meeting of the National Congress Mr. C. R. Das, the leader of the Swaraj party, offered the Muhammadans as the price of their co-operation 40 per cent. of the appointments in Government service, in the event of the attainment of Swaraj. This is a frank adoption of the principle that the public services are the spoils of office. In the same way the victory of the non-Brahmans over the Brahmans in the first elections to the Legislative Council of the Province of Madras was at once followed by the appointment of non-Brahmans instead of Brahmans in the various services. And before I left India several of my Brahman friends complained sadly to me that one effect of the Reform Act in South India would be the virtual exclusion of Brahmans from Government posts.

It is doubtless true that the rewarding of political supporters by Government appointments is not un-

known in England. But the general acceptance of this principle will undoubtedly lower the tone and standard of political life in India as it has done in the United States of America, and will make it exceedingly difficult for British officials of high character and with high ideals of honesty and efficiency to work with any comfort or satisfaction as subordinate officers in the Government services.

If British officials are needed, as certainly they will be needed, it will be better for men of ability and experience to be sent out as advisers and heads of departments, as the Report quoted above suggests, rather than as ordinary members of the Civil Service, to carry out the orders of Indian superiors.

And the second question which now clamours for immediate consideration and settlement is the position of India in the British Empire.

Important as the question is, it is one that has hardly been seriously considered until the last few years. Before the Great War when the federation of the Empire was under discussion, it was difficult to bring India into the picture. Federation implied a number of States, with similar traditions, laws, customs, ideals, and political institutions. But India differs widely from Great Britain and the Dominions in all these respects, and as regards political institutions the peoples of India are not at unity among themselves. It would be difficult to form a federation even of Indian States. But to federate India with the rest of the Empire would not come within the range of practical politics.

The modern conception of the Empire, however, as a miniature League of Nations, an association of independent and self-governing States, united for

defence and mutual help, is a scheme in which India can much more easily find a place. This new idea does not postulate uniformity in the civilisations of the component members. It is quite consistent with the idea that each State will develop its own special type of civilisation and bring its own contribution to a common life. Unity in variety will be the principle on which it is based.

At the same time the possibility of India finding a place even in this miniature League of Nations is not universally acknowledged. Mr. H. G. Wells, writing in the *Empire Review* for October 1923 on The future of the British Empire, speaks of the association of the Indian system with the Dominion system as accidental and transitory. And his programme for the future is : " disentangle from India."

In accordance with this programme Mr. Wells is convinced that it is " our duty and obligation to educate and organise India as speedily as possible for separation, for a friendly existence within the world commonweal of peoples."

This is practically the same programme as that of the extremists among the National party in India itself. The goal they set before themselves is not self-government within the Empire, but complete separation from the Empire.

A similar view has been expressed by many of the British officials in India since the passing of the Reform Act in 1919 and the introduction of responsible government. I have often heard it said in one form or another that all that is left for the British to do is " to scuttle out of India."

I think, too, that there has been a lurking doubt in the minds of a certain section of the British public

as to whether India can really march side by side with Great Britain and the Dominions towards the fulfilment of the destiny of the British Empire in the world. Certainly on one occasion within the last fifty years there was a strong feeling that the moral standards of India were at variance with the traditional policy of Great Britain. During the agitation against the Bulgarian atrocities in 1876 the majority of the people of England were aroused to a passionate indignation against Turkey for "deeds described by the British Agent, who investigated them on the spot, as the most heinous crimes that had stained the history of the century." Mr. Gladstone burst forth from his retirement and headed the agitation.[1] In his pamphlet on "The Bulgarian horrors and the Question of the East," he spoke of "the basest and blackest outrages upon record within the present century, if not within the memory of man," described the Turks as "the one great anti-human specimen of humanity," declared that there was not a criminal in a European gaol nor a cannibal in the South Sea Islands, who would not feel indignant at what they had done, and demanded that they should be driven bag and baggage out of Europe. He said the same thing, though in less violent language, in his speeches, and he carried the nation with him. The vast majority of the people responded at once to the appeal of humanity. As Lord Morley says in his account of the agitation, "humanity was at the root of the whole matter; and the keynote of this great crusade was the association of humanity with a high policy worthy of the British name."[2]

[1] *Life of Gladstone*, by John Morley, vol. II, p. 548.
[2] *Life of Gladstone*, vol. II, p. 555.

And then at the height of the agitation it was strongly urged on the other side that if Gladstone's humanitarian policy were adopted we should lose India. The popular feeling on this point was forcibly and tersely expressed at a conference in St. James' Hall, described by Lord Morley as "one of the most remarkable gatherings of representative men, of every type and from every part of the kingdom, ever held in this country," when Professor Freeman, the historian, exclaimed "Perish India," if it would lead us to condone the guilt of Turkey and lower the moral ideals of British policy.

There was somewhat the same feeling, though less widespread and intense, at the end of the Great War when the brutal massacre of about 700,000 Armenians and 100,000 Greeks by the Turks profoundly shocked the British public, and once again they were warned by the Government of India that an anti-Turkish policy would endanger our position in India.

The sympathy so strongly expressed throughout India on this occasion for Turkey by both Muhammadans and Hindus; the vigorous efforts made by the Government of India to influence the British Government in favour of Turkey, and the obvious collision between the public opinion of Great Britain and the public opinion of India, again raised the question in the minds of many people as to whether the political and moral standards of India were not so far at variance with those of Great Britain as to render it undesirable that it should become a partner of the Empire and have an equal voice with the Dominions in determining its policy.

It would be foolish, therefore, to ignore the fact that public opinion in Great Britain has been in the

past by no means unanimous on the subject of the position of India in the Empire.

On the other hand the policy of Great Britain at the present time is very decidedly to make India a partner in the Empire. This was clearly expressed in a resolution of the Imperial Conference held in 1921, which spoke of India as " an equal member of the Empire." And this policy is implicit in the fact that India is represented at Imperial Conferences at all. The representatives of India would have no business to be there if we were preparing India for separation and aiming ourselves at disentangling from India as soon as possible. On that assumption we should cease talking about the status of India in the Empire, or about India as an equal member of the Empire, and should also cease appealing to India to be loyal to the Empire. It would be absurd to expect India to be loyal to an Empire which was preparing with all possible despatch to expel her from its membership.

And we cannot doubt that, in spite of the difficulties that are undoubtedly created by the wide differences between India and the other partners of the Empire in race, religion, mentality and civilisation, the official policy will be ratified by the majority of the British people.

To begin with, merely from the point of view of our own material interests, though this is the lowest ground on which to base our policy, to disentangle from India would be a difficult and serious matter. India is a large member of the Imperial body. It contains about 320,000,000 out of the 436,000,000 people in the Empire. It is a big limb to amputate. And it is connected with Great Britain not only by

ties of government, but also by bonds of trade and commerce. It is by far Great Britain's best customer. The imports to India from Great Britain during the last three years have averaged about £120,000,000 annually. And a very large amount of British capital is invested there on the strength of the assurance given by its connection with Great Britain of the stability of its Government.

Then again, we have only to consider the probable consequences of disentanglement to India itself, to realise that it is a policy that cannot be adopted without the betrayal of a sacred trust. It is only the power of Great Britain in the background that keeps India together as one political unit. Separated from Great Britain India probably would split up into a multitude of independent States all jealous of one another and fighting among themselves. Like China to-day it would lapse into chaos and anarchy, and the result would be widespread ruin and misery among 300,000,000 people. It would be easy to set up a central Government and make India absolutely independent. It would be extraordinarily difficult to be sure that the Government was strong and stable enough to hold India together.

A strong argument against a policy of separation, even if it were practicable, is the value of this great experiment of the British Empire as a contribution towards the ultimate solution of the race problem in the world.

Mr. Wells in the article referred to above assumes the speedy establishment of "a world commonweal of peoples." It is a consummation devoutly to be desired, though unhappily we must still regard it as a vision that belongs to "the wonder that would be."

We have already seen " the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue," and hope in a few years to see " the heavens fill with commerce " ; so it is not beyond the limits of belief that at some distant date the League of Nations will grow and expand into " the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world." But the best way to promote the realisation of this vision is to carry to a successful conclusion our own experiment of uniting India with Great Britain and the Dominions in a genuine Commonwealth. The British Empire is in itself a miniature League of Nations, containing one quarter of the human race, and, if it succeeds in keeping India within the League, it will establish the possibility of uniting different races with widely different civilisations, temperaments, religious and political traditions in mutual co-operation for the common good, and a great step will have been taken towards the higher ideal of a world-commonwealth of all races and religions.

But if, on the other hand, the experiment of the British Empire fails, if India is compelled to separate because it is found impossible for the Anglo-Saxon race to work in harmony and fellowship with peoples of a different civilisation from its own, if we cannot now rise to the conception of a title to leadership based not on physical force but on moral and spiritual ideals, what hope can we have that this new and higher spirit will prevail among the peoples of the world and that a world-commonwealth is a practical ideal ?

INDEX

Abbé Dubois, 60, 66
Adam, W., 119, 123, 128, 129, 135
Age of Consent Bill, 221
Akbar, 47
Alfred the Great, 55
Ammavaru, story of, 25
Amritsar, 295, 302–18
Andrews, C. F., 228, 261, 263, 266
Anglo-Indians, 83–9
Animal sacrifice, 8, 24
Animist and Aryan, 3–29
Aryan and Animist, 3–29
Arya Samaj, 187
Athletics, 276
Atman, 31
Aurungzeb, 48, 126

Benson, Father, 222
Bishop's College, Calcutta, vii, 88, 149, 176
Bishops in India, 90
Black magic, 10
Blood in sacrifice, 9, 10
Boyle, Robert, 175
Brahman and Buddhist, 30–45
British officials, 321, 326
Buchanan, Rev. Claudius, 57
Buddhist and Brahman, 30–45
Bulgarian atrocities, 327
" By-heart, to," 138

Cape Times, 234
Carey, 63
Caste, 12, 15, 16, 68
Chamberlain, Joseph, 236
Chaplain-General, 106
Chaplains, 92, 106
Charnock, Job, 270
Chirol, Sir V., 210
Christian Church, 55–113, 188
Church and outcastes, 55–62
Church and State, 90–106
Church Councils, 100
Church discipline, 99
Church of England, 90, 98, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106
Church unity, 104, 107–13
Clemenceau, 270, 317
Communal representation, 3
Community education, 163, 164, 167
Congress, National, 158, 214–24
Conscience clause, 189–95
Co-operative societies, 159
Cotton, Sir H., 203, 206
Curzon, Lord, vi, 208, 212, 229

Das, C. R., 324
Deity, making of a, 6
de Nobili, Robert, 60, 172
Depressed classes mission, 186
Dornakal, diocese of, 81, 99, 100
Drink in villages, 169
Duff, Dr. Alexander, 64, 147, 178
Dufferin, Lord, 216, 285
Dyer, General, 310

Early Church history, 55–64
East Africa, 219
East India Company, 93, 94, 96, 97, 174, 176
Education, 117–95
Educational policy of the British, 117–35
Elphinstone, Mountstuart, 201, 210
English education, 136–51
Evil eye, 11

Fraser, A. G., 161
Freeman, Professor, 328
Fulani-bin-Fulani, 266

Gandhi, 225–50, 268, 293, 299, 302, 303
Gerard, General, 273
Gladstone, W. E., 284, 327
Gokale, 209, 211, 215, 216, 249, 272
Government schools, tone in, 183
Grogan, Major, 255

Hardinge, Lord, 239
Hindu and Muhammadan, 46–51
Hostel, O. M. C., 190
Hume, A. D., 217

Ilbert Bill, the, 199–213, 214
Imperial Conference, 329
Indentured labour, 227, 229
India in the Empire, 268
Indian Army, 297
Indian Bishop, 278
Indian Christians and Nationalism, 109
Indian Relief Act, 239
Indians in East Africa, 219
Indians in Natal, 232

Jahangir, 47

Karma, 33
Kenya Colony, the, 251–69
Kerr, W. S. Seton, 207
King George, 299

Lala Lajput Rai, 223
Lansdowne, Lord, 217
Lawn-tennis, 278
League of Nations, 331
Lovett, Sir Verney, 210
Lytton, Lord, 202

Macaulay, Lord, 130, 134, 135, 143, 157, 201, 209, 210
Madigas, 65
Manu, 20
Marriage, age for, 185
Mass movements, 59, 68, 70, 72, 73, 74, 80
Max-Müller, Professor, 214
Middleton, Bishop, 176
Miller, Dr., 182
Missionary education, 171–88
Mombasa, 252
Montagu, 211, 213, 283, 288, 289
Moplah rising, 293
Morley, Lord, 283, 284, 285, 286, 327
Muhammadan and Hindu, 46–51
Munro, Sir Thomas, 117, 118, 200, 209, 210

Natal, 230, 232, 233
National Congress, 158, 214–24
Nestorians, 56
Nicholson, Sir F., 161, 163

Noble, 182
Non-co-operation, 302–18

Outcastes, 153, 154
Outcastes and the Church, 65–82
Outlook, the, 319–31
Oxford Mission, vii, 190

Parliament, 211, 227
Passive resistance, 237, 239, 240, 246
Penal code, 204
Penny, Rev. F., 93, 174, 175, 176
Political reforms, 283–301
Politics, 199–331
Poll-tax, 48, 232
Poverty, 154
Press Act, 202
Pundit Shiva Nath Shastri, 271

Rabindra Nath Tagore, 144, 150
Ram Mohun Roy, 130, 180, 181
Rash Behari Ghose, Dr., 223
Religion and Politics, 148
Ripon, Lord, 202, 209, 210
Roman Catholics, 60
Rowlatt Act, 244, 302

Sadler Commission, 140, 150, 182
St. Thomas, 55
Salisbury, Lord, 291
Saunders, 231
Schools, grants to missionary, 189
Schwartz, 173
Segregation in, 260, 263
Sell, Dr. E., 50, 51
Serpent worship, 10
Servants of India, 186
Shaftesbury, Lord, 243, 249
Shah Jahan, 47
Sikhs, 295
Social relations, 270–82
Social Service League, 159, 245
South African League, 245
Srinivas Shastri, 186
Surat, 223
Surendra Nath Banerji, Sir, 148

Tagore, Rabindra Nath, 144, 150
Thomas, 135
Tillak, 223

Vedic religion, 12, 19
Village education, 152–70
Virgil, 207

Wedderburn, Sir W., 218
Wilson, Dr., 182
Women's Christian College, 185

Xavier, Francis, 59, 60, 171

Printed in Great Britain by Butler & Tanner Ltd., *Frome and London*

3 6877 00113 3593

DS
448
.W5

DATE DUE

AP 07 '03

DS
448
.W5
1924

33373

Whitehead, Henry
Indian problems in religion, education, politics.

HERBERT LIBRARY
Fresno Pacific College - M. B. Seminary
Fresno, Calif 93702

DEMCO